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## **The Impact of Philanthropy in Rural Development in Ghana**

Aidoo, Raphael Ekow

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**The Impact of Philanthropy in Rural Development in Ghana**

Thesis presented by

**Raphael Ekow Aidoo**

For the degree of

**Doctor of Philosophy**

**Geography Department**

**School of Social Sciences and Public Policy**

**King's College London**

**University of London**

**2013**

## **ABSTRACT**

This thesis is about how the philanthropy of individual foreigners is having an impact on rural development in Ghana. There is an important history of philanthropy as a source of resources for the alleviation of poverty and to contribute to development. Decentralisation of power in many developing countries, which began in the late 1980s, has meant that many village communities are increasingly in charge of their own destinies. In Ghana, one approach which rural communities are pursuing is the acquisition of capital for development through vertical philanthropy - where resources flow from the rich to the poor. Rural communities in Ghana are identifying foreign philanthropists who can inject financial capital into the village to initiate development. In addition, they are also invited to be involved in that 'development' by leading the development process. A key leadership position of development chiefs and queens has been created for them.

This thesis evaluates the contribution of this new form of philanthropy to the wellbeing and livelihoods of rural communities through primary research in Ghanaian villages and with foreign development chiefs and queens. The study is framed with reference to theories about philanthropy and the practices of rural development, in particular the significance of community participation. The cultural implications and contestations about opting for foreign leadership in village-level development are also investigated. Its findings are that this new approach can yield important net benefits for rural people but outcomes are influenced by the interactions between the three main stakeholders involved in the concept – the philanthropists, the traditional leadership and the people. Issues related to leadership and participation proved to be of key significance.

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## **LIST OF ACRONYMS**

DA	District Assembly
DP	Development Philanthropist
DCE	District Chief Executive
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organisation
FDP	Foreign Development Philanthropist
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
GLSS	Ghana Living Standards Survey
GSS	Ghana Statistical Service
IFAD	International Fund for Agricultural Development
ILO	International Labour Organization
KCL	King's College London
NGO	Non- Governmental Organisation
PNDC	Provisional National Defence Council
TA	Traditional Authority
UC	Unit Committee
UN	United Nations

# **CHAPTER ONE**

## **INTRODUCTION**

**“Most significantly, people in developing countries are continually devising new and innovative strategies for expressing their agency in development arenas” (Hickey and Mohan 2004:3)**

### **1.1 Background of research**

Poverty is a major impediment to people's lives and this has been well documented (Adams 2006; Sachs 2005; Baker, 2000), and aid to bring about development has achieved far less than anticipated (Clemence and Moss 2006; Easterly 2005; Nemes, 2005). In recent years, since the 1980s Chambers (1983), Richards (1986), Escobar (1993) and Shepard (2005) have shown that indigenous knowledge should play a greater part in development across the globe. More recently, a growing body of literature on postcolonialism has suggested that in regard to development we ought to be listening to the poor (Sharp 2008; McEwan 2009; Kapoor 2008; Power 2003; Desai 2001; Said 1999; Spivak 1988). Decentralisation of power in many developing countries, which began in the late 1980s (Kyei 2000; Odotei 2004) has placed village communities in charge of their own destinies to secure their own development (Grishow 2008). And in Ghana one approach which rural communities are pursuing is the acquisition of capital for development through vertical philanthropy. As the development destiny of rural communities are now in their own hands after decentralisation (Kyei 2000), rural communities in Ghana have identified philanthropists who can inject financial capital into the village to initiate development, along the lines suggested by Sachs (2005). To achieve this they have turned to foreign philanthropists, most of them Western Europeans, in spite of them having long been criticized for their colonial dominance in Africa.

Personal interest in philanthropy and development has led this thesis to investigate the impact of vertical philanthropy on the livelihood of three selected villages in rural Ghana, and eight foreign philanthropists who are engaged with this approach. Not only are the resources from the philanthropists needed, but they are also invited to be involved and participate by leading the development process. A key leadership position of development chief and queen is therefore being created for them. Philanthropy is



known from history to alleviate poverty and to contribute to development (Gorsky 1999; Owen 1964; Jordan 1959) but the new move by the rural communities in Southern Ghana opens a new chapter of philanthropy where the benefactor is drawn into the practice of development.

An interesting question therefore is whether these foreign vertical philanthropists fully understand what is required of them, especially that their position is more than charity and that their sustained involvement is required. Whether the failure of some vertical philanthropists to understand this is a matter of communication, cultural ignorance or lack of commitment by the vertical philanthropists will be investigated. Another concern is whether the inexperience of the vertical philanthropists in 'Development' could be a factor in any way. In spite of these and other concerns which will be elaborated through the thesis, vertical philanthropy, where it functions successfully, offers a possible new route towards poverty alleviation through a structure which, in theory at least, could enable the voices of the poorest to be heard.

## **1.2 Linking philanthropy to development**

Wilkinson-Maposa et al (2004) identified two dimensions of philanthropy. There is one which involves cooperation and mutual aid between the poor. This is known as horizontal philanthropy. This is meant for their survival and not for a capital benefit that will take them out of poverty. The other is vertical philanthropy, normally from the rich or wealthy to the poor, which can raise the capital asset of an individual or a community. It is this kind of philanthropy that this thesis aims to investigate.

After independence, Africa had hoped to look after herself. In Ghana's case, Kwame Nkrumah, the first head of state, foresaw development similar to the West (Aryeetey and Goldstein, 2000). International aid for development came with the package with western knowledge and perceptions, but experience of the past half century has shown that African development must be tailored to African society and African needs and should not try to recreate the West in Africa ( Taabazuing 2011; Alhassan, 2009: Sharp and Briggs, 2009). It can therefore be argued that the turn of vertical philanthropy to support rural development in Africa can be successful if the need, culture and voices of the people are considered.

The link between philanthropy to community development is debatable and this has created a divide between academics and policy makers. Scholarly focus on philanthropy has stressed its relevance in poverty reduction (Smith, 2005; Sachs, 2005; Shippler, 2004; Rank, 2004). It is also argued that philanthropy is a development agent as it brings money directly to rural communities (Payton and Moody 2008; Lethlen 2001). More recently, significant attention has been given to the emergence of diaspora philanthropy- resources raised by diaspora to develop their homeland communities, as many studies confirm its potential to drive development (Heath, 2009; Beauchemin and Schoumaker, 2009; FAO/IFAD 2008; Sidel, 2008; DFID, 2007; Orozco and Rouse 2007; Powers 2006; van Hear et al 2004, Newland 2003). Economists also argue along similar lines that the socio-economic importance of this philanthropy has both macro and micro economic significance to the economies of developing countries (Ribas, 2008). Transnational studies in human geography also place philanthropy by diaspora associations from developing countries, especially hometown associations, as contributors to development in their homeland by their philanthropic links (Heath, 2009; Johnson 2004; Kabki et. al 2004; DFID, 2004 Mohan et al 2003). On the transnational perspective, other academics are sceptical about the potential contribution of diaspora associations abroad. Mercer et al (2009), for example, argue from the findings of their research, conducted with the diaspora associations in Cameroon and Tanzania, that philanthropy from transnational groups contribute less as their development roles are practiced unprofessionally and suggest a “weaker network” of their link to their homeland. Parallel to the popularity of diaspora philanthropy, there have also been non-academic articles and reports about individual philanthropic efforts, especially, by celebrities, towards some poor and rural communities in Africa, suggesting that the philanthropic role of helping rural development and the poor is on the increase (Goodman 2009; Traub 2008; Grys 2008; Herrick 2008).

Not everyone applauds philanthropy to a community. Those who are opposed to philanthropy argue that the philanthropic transfer of resources from donor to recipient would only end up redistributing wealth unevenly (Bracking, 2004). Others argue that philanthropy to a community could lead to ‘islands of prosperity’ which can cause jealousies in rural communities within a district, where only some are fortunate enough to have developed a partnership with one or more philanthropists (Rich, 2007).

The philanthropy/development debate which has somehow created an academic and policy divide is partly due to differences in the contexts within which development is understood. Given these complexities, it is the aim of this thesis to contribute to this unsolved debate on the potential of philanthropy to contribute to community development.

### 1.3 Research problem

The extract below, from Ghana News Agency, on the installation of an American as a development philanthropist throws light on a new philanthropic approach in rural development in Ghana.

*“An United States of American development volunteer, philanthropist, was on Sunday installed **Development Queenmother** at a traditional ceremony at Kpone Bawaleshie near Dodowa in the Greater Accra Region. Mrs Lindsey Smith Kaufman, the new development queenmother, assumes the title of Naa Korkor Amen, II. Nene Marteh Kanor II, chief of the village, who accepted the new Queen mother into the royalty, impressed upon her the need to **educate her people** back in the United States that her **new role exacted certain demands and she must therefore, be available to her subjects anytime the need arose**. Accepting the offer, Naa Korkor Amen, dressed in full queenmother's regalia, promised to use her new role to advance development in the village to make it "a place worth living by us all". "This is beyond my wildest dreams", she confided to the Ghana News Agency after the ceremony. In a welcoming address, Nene Kanor justified the installation, saying, "it is to honour and show our appreciation and recognition of the good works of one of our international friends." It is estimated that over 100 foreign visitors, notably Americans, Germans, Swedes, Canadians, Norwegians, Japanese and British have made the village (a.k.a. Small London), their second home.*

*"Naa Korkor Amen has shown practical interest in the area of health care delivery by donating medical supplies and educational materials to our community", the chief confirmed. He said, the new Queenmother **would be expected to work hand-in-hand** with the Town Development Council to improve the standard of living of the people by **raising resources** from both home and abroad to speed up the development process in*

*the community. The village, he announced, has in place a five-year development plan to cater for the construction of a community clinic, library, teachers' quarters, day nursery and a permanent water storage facility and completion of a community centre”.*

Ghana News Agency (GNA, Sun, 31 Aug 2003).

It can be argued that research of this standard cannot reliably use a media source as argued by Herman and Chomski (1988), because such sources have filtered the information already. However, since installation ceremonies like the one above are only reported in the media, it was necessary to use such sources. Using media sources does allow us to see some evidence of how widespread this phenomenon of foreign development philanthropy is becoming.

It must also be emphasized that such forms of vertical philanthropy which are becoming increasingly common in Ghana have not yet been critiqued or practically analyzed and this is one of the aims of this thesis. It represents a new trend where the financial capital so essential for development is being requested from a vertical philanthropist. But not only is their money important, their involvement and participation in development is also required. They are thus expected by the rural communities to take their place in village decision-making meetings that are related to development. According to the chief (community leader) in the above article, the village had a development plan; this plan is their development dream, and they are expecting the philanthropist to take them to the ‘dreamland’. Here several interesting questions arise: can the philanthropist help them to achieve this? Does the philanthropist have different plans, ideas or perceptions about this responsibility? This ‘interactive’ approach to development has received little attention in the literature and this thesis aims to explore and investigate what this new form of vertical philanthropy can achieve, with regard to the expectations of the rural communities (poverty alleviation and rural development) and the challenges that face the foreign development philanthropists and the people in working together.

The central assumption is that philanthropy is motivated by factors including altruism. However, there is a concern from academic and non-academic sources that the foreign philanthropist’s involvement has the potential to dilute the tradition, culture and values of the people by steering the development discourse in the path of the dominant knowledge of the West, while traditional local knowledge could once more be marginalised (Alhassan 2009; McEwan 2009; Sharp 2009). But others (Steegstra 2006) believe that this kind of philanthropy should be seen as a way for both the recipient

community and the philanthropist to bring about development by finding a style of synthesis through which they can realistically engage with the world of development (Steegstra 2006).

Secondly, this new concept substantially involves the Neotraditional Authority (NTA) or leadership in the areas where it is being practised. Traditional leadership is written off by some academics who take the view that traditional leaders are incapable of governing in ways that will bring development to their communities (Ribot 2001; Harrison and Huntington 2001) because of such limitations as social exclusiveness and being non-democratic. However, others believe that they are productive and essential to the process of implementing modern social and community changes (Ray 2003, 2006; Owusu- Sarpong 2003). This research provides an opportunity to assess how essential or effective the NTAs have been in the development projects under study.

Thirdly, this new development concept is basically an interactive participation between the philanthropists, the leaders and the people. An important element of the research is about the nature of participation in operation where this new concept is being implemented, taking into account the fact that Ghanaian communities are heterogeneous and stratified by socio-economic inequalities. It is often found that higher class groups or elites hi-jack or dominate in community participatory projects, using their socio-economic power and status to serve their interests at the expense of the marginalized or the poor, who are meant to be the targets of such projects. The extent to which local villagers were both able and willing to be involved in decision-making was thus part of the research. It was found that in some, but not all, cases full participation in decision-making over the projects implemented via this new form of philanthropy was not actually desired or even welcomed by villagers who were prepared to allow control to be exercised by traditional authorities and philanthropists. A variety of factors were involved in this situation including levels of trust. This led to the development in the thesis of the notion of positive hi-jacking.

A particular feature of the development philanthropy under investigation in this thesis is that some foreign development chiefs may actually reside for much or all of their time within the village in which they are practicing their philanthropy. This gives rise to them being amongst the beneficiaries of their own philanthropy – for example if village infrastructure like electricity is improved. While this might be regarded as an analytical

tension, the research found this not to be so in general. Instead this can be understood in terms of an extension to the commonly understood varieties of philanthropy: philanthropy as ‘sharing’.

A final aspect relates to the point made by the chief in the long quote produced above. He expressed the need for ‘raising resources from both home and abroad to speed up development’. This alludes to certain geographical perspectives in the concept relating to space and transnational elements which are also subject to investigation in this study.

The research questions are therefore stated as:

1. Why do rural people embrace this non-indigenous concept and how does their participation contribute to the success of the concept?
2. How do the indigenous leaders (chiefs and local elites) effectively play a role within the context of the traditional institutions?
3. What motivates the foreign philanthropists to hold chieftaincy positions in Ghana and what form of philanthropy do they offer?
4. What kind of development impact do they make to rural development in Ghana?

#### **1.4 Structure of thesis**

Chapter 2: Literature Review, surveys the field of philanthropy and particularly vertical philanthropy, explaining its contribution to rural development. It then links the research problem to the body of knowledge in philanthropy and rural development and the limited literature on development philanthropy in Ghana. That sets up the theoretical framework and the aims of the thesis.

Chapter 3: is concerned with Ghana and focuses on rural livelihoods. This provides context relating to typical rural lives and livelihoods and the socio-economic situation in Ghana. It thus provides the background to the three study areas. .

Chapter 4: Methodology: explains the selection of villages; the conduct of the fieldwork including identification of potential participants and the methods of data collection for the thesis. The justification for using the approach is explained, as are the potential limitations and the means by which they may be overcome.

Chapter 5: Analyses the perception and participation of the people of the study villages and how these play a role in the success of the approach.

Chapter 6: Analyses the role and the extent to which the effectiveness of leadership in the communities can determine the outcome.

Chapter 7: Discusses the research findings on the role and nature of the philanthropists in this concept.

Chapter 8: Summary and conclusion on the research findings; this is in terms both of the aims and their wider implications for research into philanthropy and rural development

## **1.5 Conclusion**

This chapter has laid the foundations for the thesis. It introduced the research problem and research questions. The research was justified, methodology briefly described and outline/structure given. On these foundations, the thesis can proceed with a literature review of the research topic. The framework will then be discussed.

## **CHAPTER TWO**

### **PHILANTHROPISTS AND RURAL DEVELOPMENT CRITICAL REVIEW**

#### **2.1 Introduction**

This chapter begins with a review of the concept of philanthropy and its various forms. It then goes on to describe ‘development philanthropy’ - the new form of philanthropy which is the central theme of this thesis. It is a concept that rural people in Ghana hope will bring them development. Throughout this thesis this type of philanthropy will be referred to as a development concept, and sometimes as ‘the concept’. The chapter then discusses this new philanthropic concept in terms of its potential impact on rural development. Lastly, a conceptual framework is developed to pursue the aim of the thesis.

#### **2.2 Overview of Philanthropy**

##### **2.2.1 Definitions and Meanings**

The meaning of philanthropy is vague. The word ‘philanthropy’ is often used to describe different purposes. It has been used to describe donations, giving and commitments to help with disaster relief, poverty alleviation and development, either long or short term. It has become even harder to distinguish between philanthropy, charity and aid from civil societies and international development agencies.

English dictionaries, for example, the Oxford Concise Dictionary, Collins English Dictionary and Webster’s Dictionary give different definitions. However, they all acknowledge the term’s ancient origins. The word originates from the Greek word *philanthropia* which, in essence, means the love of humankind. According to Gorsky (1999) and Checkland (1989), philanthropy at the time of the ancient Greeks meant people’s love for their neighbours, their affection and concern not only for kin and friends but for fellow humans in general. The Byzantine concept also identifies philanthropy with kindness and unconditional love (Finlay 1961). Ancient Greek scholars like Plato and Aeschylus believed philanthropy was an expression of the love



of God for humanity which should be exhibited by people towards each other (Glotz, 1987).

Various scholars have also attempted to explain the meaning of philanthropy to suit our modern perspective. One of the more widely accepted definitions is that employed by Salamon (1992:7). He defined philanthropy as: “the private giving of time or valuables (money, security, property) for public purposes”.

Payton (1988:5) defined philanthropy more broadly and precisely as “voluntary action for the public good”, and Jon Van Til (1990:3), defined it as “the voluntary giving of time and money aimed toward the needs of charity and the interests of a better quality of life”. Thus the three definitions consider philanthropy as encompassing all acts of voluntary giving to better the quality of life for all. However, these definitions do not specify whether these sorts of acts can still be seen as philanthropy if their intended purposes are never attained. There is a question therefore if an act is philanthropic merely because the donor *intended* to achieve a better quality of life for mankind? More recently, Schervish (2004) has argued that there are many forms of voluntary giving that do not accord with the basic concept of philanthropy, but which may generate resources for non-profit organizations including government. His point is that philanthropy cannot be seen as the only voluntary source of giving which is for public benefit.

Schervish (2004) further argued that philanthropic behaviour might be defined more in terms of its ‘obligatory’ rather than its ‘voluntary’ nature. He thus defined philanthropy as: “a social relation governed by a moral obligation that matches a supply of private resources to a demand of unfulfilled needs and desires that are communicated by entreaty” (Schervish 2004:47). It can be suggested that Schervish agrees with the previous scholars in their understanding of philanthropy as a means of ‘meeting unfulfilled human needs’ but suggests there was more to philanthropy than they implied - philanthropy could be obligatory as well. From the above definitions, the exact meaning of philanthropy remains unclear, especially regarding the issue of whether philanthropy is entirely voluntary, or whether it is compelled by factors such as moral or social obligation.

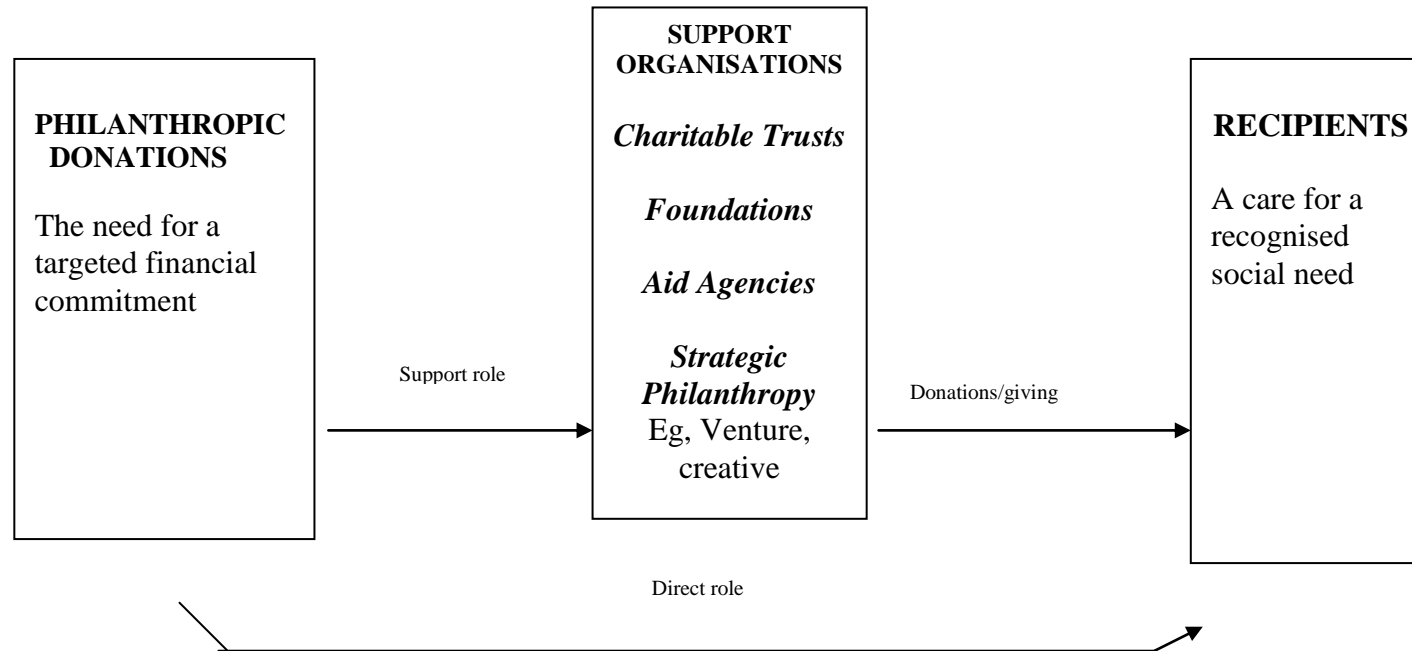
The classical meaning of philanthropy thus reflects a theological influence – the love of God, and consequently the love of humankind which includes the instinct and desire within human nature to help others. These features, especially the religious components are not always emphasized in our modern definitions and have virtually disappeared

from view. Nevertheless, philanthropy still encompasses the desire or readiness to do good to mankind.

### 2.2.2 Philanthropy, charity and other types of giving

The meaning of philanthropy is further blurred by its interchange with the term ‘charity’. A distinction between these two terms was made by Sealander (1997): “charity sought to alleviate the sufferings of the poor, while philanthropy sought to address the root causes of their suffering in order to bring about permanent solutions to poverty and other social ills” (Sealander, 1997:9). A typical example is the seminal influence of the Rockefeller philanthropies which applied the findings of scientific research, particularly within the field of medicine, to solving previously intractable social problems (Chernow, 1998). Finding the exact distinction between the two, Gross (2002) also noted that the decisive transition of meaning from charity to philanthropy began in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century, with charity being understood as giving between individuals, while philanthropy was understood as a more institutionally channelled humanitarian response to the conditions of the poor. Ostrower (1995) also endeavoured to distinguish philanthropy from charity. He suggested that charity is a form of giving specifically directed towards the poor which often focuses on relief and immediate needs, while philanthropy is a broader concept including charity and private donation for public purpose. The meanings of both terms thus incorporate the same aim: poverty relief and poverty alleviation. Considering the various meanings - from ancient to modern times, this considers all forms of giving from individuals towards the improvement of the well being of mankind, as philanthropic. Figure 2.1 presents a summary of channels through which philanthropic resources may flow to the recipients who utilize them. It shows that all the other forms of giving operate with the help of philanthropic resources.

For the purpose of this thesis, philanthropy will be used to include all forms of giving and donations. Thus it will be used in regard to all forms of giving intended to support livelihoods and development. I will now look more closely at features of philanthropy, and I start by considering what motivates philanthropists to give.



**Figure 2.1 Channel of Vertical Philanthropic resources. Source: Aidoo, based on various sources**

### 2.2.3. Motivations behind philanthropy

It could be argued that poverty and disaster relief, in whatever place and time, have always been a major purpose of philanthropy. However, for the past two decades scholars of philanthropy have made significant efforts to answer the perplexing question of what motivates the philanthropist to give, and what determines how much and what proportion of their wealth they donate. On the question of how much a donor is likely to donate, it is suggested that the profile or the background of the donor, including religion, income, employment, marital status, and the number of persons in the household, may all influence the size of donation and proportion of his resources donated (Bekkers and Wiepking, 2007).

Three significant reviews which have been made over recent years argue that philanthropy is motivated by many factors. First, Prince et al (1993) found in their study in the United States that philanthropists have their interests and there are seven characteristics which influenced them in pursuit of their interests. They group the philanthropists according to these characteristics: the communitarian, the devout, the investor, the socialite, the repayer, the altruist and the dynast. They argued that the investors prefer to invest in non-profit organizations, especially those which are professionally run (ibid, 262) so that their donations may 'grow' and the benefits from them increase. The philanthropists who are described as 'dynasts' are those who believe that giving or donating to a cause has been what their family had stood for, possibly for generations and feel it is expected of them to continue (ibid, 264). The 'devout' are motivated by the doctrine of his/her religion and 'altruists' are motivated by their feelings, instincts, emotions and spirit of generosity. The authors suggest that many philanthropists are 'communitarians' who are interested in helping a group of people, for example a community, rather than of individuals (ibid, 264). The 'repayers' are those philanthropists who believe in 'giving back' - or the concept of reciprocity - of what they have received.

A study by Ostrower (1995) on the elites of New York City found that philanthropists do not only give, but receive reputable benefits from being associated with the elite classes. This prestige factor thus fits into the socialite factor suggested by Prince et al (1993). Prestige gains are also described as social exchange by Blau (1968) and Boulding (1973). They argue that after donating the philanthropists gain some return in the form of status and recognition – thus they benefit from the enhancement of their reputation.

A review by Lindahl and Conley (2002) categorized the factors into psychological and sociological motives. Psychological motives for giving tend to be toward self-interest. Examples include giving in order to receive recognition, to gain elite status, to gain influence among peers and also to benefit from tax exemption. Philanthropic giving is viewed as a positive thing to do (Horne 2003); people who give towards good causes tend to be held in high regard by their peers (Muehleman et al 1976). Andreoni and Petrie (2004) noted that when given the choice, people generally prefer their donations to be known by others. It is also suggested that most philanthropists bow to strong social pressure, especially when a strong contact makes a request for a donation. A survey on giving intentions showed that solicitations by persons at a closer social distance are more likely to be honoured (Bekkers 2004).

The sociological motives may include altruism, religion and identity with a cause. Bekkers and Wiepking (2007) suggest a broad range of factors influencing philanthropy: awareness of needs, solicitation by those in need, cost and benefit, altruism, reputation, psychological benefits and values.

These studies evidently agree on some common characteristics of philanthropy. The one motivation in particular which is usually highlighted is altruism. Nevertheless, some disagree with the concept of altruism: Derrida (1992) and Marcel Maus (1969) argued that the act of giving is not necessarily an altruistic act. Both suggest that giving has the possibility of reciprocity, such as acknowledgement of the gift, thereby generating gratitude, self-recognition, and other symbolic forms. Derrida (1992) further explained that the possibility of altruism requires the absence of reciprocity because it annuls the meaning and intentions of philanthropy. It is thus suggested that altruism is not enough to motivate the philanthropist (Bekkers and Wiepking, 2007).

It could be a combination of factors. For example, besides being altruistic, some other factors must catalyse it. Various studies suggest that philanthropists are particularly motivated when they become aware of the needs of their recipients (Lee & Farrell 2003; Cheung & Chan 2000; Unger 1991), especially when they had knowledge of the potential beneficiaries (Small & Simonsohn 2006; Polonsky et al 2002). Some surveys found that people who have relatives suffering from a specific illness are more likely to give to charities fighting those illnesses (Bekkers & Meijer 2008, Wiepking 2006; Burgoyne et al 2005). Simon (1997) also found that extensive media coverage of a disaster or social problems like poverty is a strong positive motivation to the philanthropist. However, it must be emphasized that awareness and knowledge of recipients does not always motivate. For example, the encouragement of donations

toward disaster relief can be forced on philanthropists by the media to such an extent that they become desensitized and may cease to act philanthropically.

Belief can also influence giving. Religion was identified directly by the first two reviews though the different studies all agree that in the majority of cases, religion has influence.

Evidence from neuropsychological studies suggests that giving has a biological effect on a part of the brain that gives humans a 'feel good' factor. Moll et al (2006) found that the activities in a small, anterior medial frontal region of the brain controls self-interest against other-interest; this determines a person's engagement in charitable giving. From the authors' interpretation, this prefrontal area represents and maintains high-level goals. According to them, those who have high level goals have their activities pulled towards serving other-interests like charity and subdue the self-serving option of keeping money to themselves. Other research suggests that there are several reasons why humans may have pleasurable psychological experiences upon giving: people may alleviate feelings of guilt (avoid punishment), feel good for acting in line with a social norm, or feel good for acting in line with a specific self image - prosocial, altruistic (Tankersley et al 2007). It is also suggested that assisting others may be an effective way of repairing one's self-image after one has harmed another (Regan et al 1972). Sargeant et al (2000) also found that individuals with a stronger sense of achievement are more likely to donate.

Many studies suggest values are strong motivating factors behind philanthropy. Some studies conclude that values such as humanitarianism and egalitarianism (Fong 2007), altruism (Bekkers & Schuyt 2005, Farmer & Fedor 2001; Prince et al 1993), and prosocial values (Bekkers 2006), means that those who are less materialistic (Sargeant et al 2000), who endorse post materialistic goals in politics (Bekkers & Wiepking 2006), who value being devout and spiritual (Todd & Lawson 1999; Prince et al 1993), who endorse a moral principle of care (Bekkers & Wilhelm 2006, Schervish & Havens 2002), and those who care about social order and social justice in society (Todd & Lawson 1999) are more likely to give because they are motivated to make the world a better place.

Many philanthropic acts point to the central importance of reciprocity (repaying) as the motive and perhaps as a key philanthropic value (Payton 1998; Moody 1994; Wuthnow 1991). Reciprocity therefore in some form is a common motivation drawing philanthropists together across time and cultures, and can be seen as a pervasive cultural

value that supports the philanthropic tradition (Wilkinson-Maposa, et al 2004). Studies suggest that reciprocity drives philanthropic acts but what is meant by reciprocity is flexible (Moody 1994). Sometimes reciprocity is direct when the donor requires something tangible 'in return' for their gift. However, the form connected to philanthropy is often indirect, a typical example being 'serial reciprocity' (Moody 1994; Payton 1988) where the benefits by one generation may be repaid years later to the descendants of the donor. This is not uncommon in Africa. Becker (1986) justified reciprocity as a form of philanthropy, as it is an ethical virtue similar to gratitude and a moral norm that serves to keep the chain of good works going in a society. It is also suggested that people feel 'obligated' or a sense of 'duty' to do good because of the good they have received. In this way they practice the norm of reciprocity through serial reciprocity. Moody (1994) argues that where reciprocity is firmly established in culture and traditions, there is no 'free choice' and voluntary motives behind giving are smothered as obligation and duty take precedence. It can therefore be concluded that the motives of reciprocity can exist alongside the other motives discussed above, showing how mixed and often ambiguous the motives for philanthropy are.

Turning things around and considering what deters philanthropists from giving, Furnham (1995) found that some people perceive those living in poverty as responsible for their own state, and potential donors may thus deny any responsibility for relieving their need. Others are less prepared to sponsor welfare recipients when they know that the recipients are unwilling to engage in paid work (Fong 2007), while some potential philanthropists refuse to help when a misfortune is attributed to the responsibility of government (Polonsky et al 2002, Radley & Kennedy 1992). Studies show that charitable organisations and communities which actively solicit contributions or help are more likely to receive donations from philanthropists than those passively presenting an opportunity to give (Simmons & Emanuele 2004; Lee & Farrell 2003; Tiehen 2001; Lindskold et al 1977). However, this may not always be the case as shown by Marx (2000) and Sokolowski (1996). In contrast, Van Diepen et al (2006) suggested that increasing the number of solicitations may produce 'donor fatigue' and may lower the average contribution. Associated with this is the case with which donations can be made.

## **2.3 Philanthropy and its contribution towards poverty alleviation**

### **2.3.2 Ancient philanthropy and poverty alleviation**

Most religions advocate personal giving and bringing relief to the poor (Blyden 1993; Brown 1987): Christianity (Chetty, 2004; Carson 2003; Ciconte et al 2001; Payton 1989; Bremner 1988), Islam (Dean and Khan 1997; El Azeyem and Hedayat-Diba 1994), Hinduism (Dean and Khan, 1997) Judaism (Tobin, 2000), Buddhism and others (Hamilton and Ilchman 1995; Wuthnow and Hodgkinson 1990).

The ancient Greeks believed philanthropy would eliminate poverty by removing conflict, civil wars, revolution and crime (Glotz 1987). As a result the authorities directed society to show concern towards the poor, the aged, strangers, orphans, prisoners of war, destitute children and other needy groups (Finley, 1999). They also emphasized the fiduciary perspective of philanthropy and the rich were encouraged to use their private wealth to help the poor. Owen (1964) used words from the Bible which linked the philanthropy of these early days with religion:

“Feed the hungry and clothe the naked” (Owen 1964; 12).

The emergence of organised, secular philanthropy in the western tradition, particularly in the English-speaking world, occurred in the early 17<sup>th</sup> century when the Agrarian Revolution which occurred in this period led to widespread dispossession of the peasantry. Rising prices led to a doubling of profits and halving of wages and many lost their livelihoods (Owen 1964). In response to this crisis, the growing middle classes began to provide for those less fortunate. Jordan (1959) argued that the Industrial Revolution of the Victorian era led to massive social problems as traditional cottage industries were replaced and rural populations migrated to the cities in search of work. As a result, great poverty and great wealth existed simultaneously and this gave rise to further great philanthropy. Owen (1964) noted that people benefited immensely from philanthropy during this period with issues such as health, education and humanitarianism. The continuation of poverty into the 19<sup>th</sup> century saw the emergence in Britain of philanthropists such as Jeremy Bentham, the utilitarian philosopher and social reformer who established University College, London (UCL), and George Cadbury and Joseph Rowntree both of whom established foundations which sought to improve the social conditions of factory workers also in 19<sup>th</sup> century England (Freeman, 2008). Authors such as Jane Austen and Charlotte Bronte who wrote about the 19<sup>th</sup> century pre-industrial England, frequently pointed to local philanthropic behaviour where the rich gave to the poor.



Others in the history of philanthropy are recorded as moral and social reformers, who aim at improving the quality of life of the poor through poverty alleviation and improving the wellbeing and the character of social misfits (Bekkers and Wiepking 2006; Bremner 1988). Elizabeth Fry, an English Quaker, who was also known as ‘The Angel of Prison’, was a Christian philanthropist in the eighteenth century. She devoted her resources to reforming prisoners. It is noted that she promoted the constitutional law that insists prisoners should be treated humanely (Owen 1964). Philo Stewards, an American philanthropist in the nineteenth century, was a missionary with a wide range of skills. He is recorded as an inventor, mechanic and educator who helped youth from poor backgrounds to acquire skills (Payton and Moody 2008). He was one of the founders of Oberlin College, a famous college for Black Americans in Ohio. Charles Dickens, the famous English novelist, was also a philanthropist who showed concern about the morals of the society in the nineteenth century. He jointly worked with another philanthropist, Angela Burdett-Coutt, one of the richest women of her time, to help prostitutes, homeless and the poor. They have built houses and soup kitchens for the poor (Owen 1964).

### 2.3.3 Modern philanthropy and community development

#### 2.3.3.1 *Celebrity philanthropy*

Individual benevolence to a community is becoming increasingly common in Africa. Philanthropists of this kind are sometimes natives of the community, non-locals or foreigners – and increasingly celebrities.

Celebrities who are “rich and famous” (Goodman, 2009: 7) and who include millionaire movie stars, sports stars, rock stars, and some past international politicians and industrialists, have channelled their altruistic feelings into vertical philanthropy projects in Africa with the aim of making a positive social impact, alleviating poverty and bringing about development (Traub 2008). There are many examples: the following are illustrative.

Natalie Portman, an American actress, teamed up with Queen Rania of Jordan and Princess Maxima of the Netherlands to introduce a microfinance scheme, ‘Finca’, to help women in Africa and Central Asia (Traub 2008). Microfinance provides access to finance for economic activities on farm and off-farm in rural areas (Seibel, 2007). This is argued by many to improve the financial, human and social capital of the communities who are benefit from these schemes. Oprah Winfrey, an actress and reality show presenter, has established the Oprah Winfrey Leadership Academy for Girls at a

cost of \$40 million at Henley-on-Klip in Meyerton near Johannesburg, South Africa. This school aims to help talented South African girls to achieve their potential (Traub 2008). George Soros is actively involved with philanthropy focused on development in Africa, and has reportedly donated \$50 Million towards the Millennium Village Project-MVP (Economist, 2004). The MVP is headed by Jeffrey Sachs and aims to help to eradicate rural poverty in Africa by 2025 (UN, 200).

The involvement of celebrities in philanthropy in Africa has been criticized for a lack of assessment of the capabilities of those involved and also because of issues about their accountability (Nyirubugara 2008). According to Herrick (2008) a high percentage of the money raised by celebrities towards famine in Ethiopia in the 1980s did not serve the purpose for which it was intended but ended up in the hands of local warlords. Another concern is the hypocrisy of donors who in some cases stand accused of exploitation and manipulation of recipients for publicity purposes and for the ultimate benefit of the donor's image (Fullilove 2008; Grys 2008; Herrick 2008; Drezner 2007; Price 2007).

#### *2.3.3.2 Strategic Philanthropy*

This kind of philanthropy has been emerging in developing countries lately. It is attributed to those who believe that philanthropy should not simply respond to needs but should look for investment opportunities that will yield a return (Ferguson et al 2000). In addition, philanthropists see this type of assistance as an answer to the questions about accountability and performance as it seeks to use professional approaches such as the setting up of structures and transparent processes to facilitate both the giving and distribution of funds and the trustworthy use of resources (Anheier and Leat 2006). In strategic philanthropy, there are always fixed years of engagement with the recipients and the relationship between donors and recipients is terminated by the provision of an alternative means of funding for the recipients (Van Slyke and Newman 2006).

Two types of strategic approach are increasing in importance in Africa: corporate and venture philanthropy, both of which can be considered as vertical philanthropy. Corporate philanthropy is when a corporation or a business voluntarily donates a portion of its resources for a specified use by society (Ricks Jr and Williams, 2005). In addition to helping those who are in need, there is usually a business motive behind corporate philanthropy: meeting the strategic corporation objectives, increasing

visibility, enhancing corporate image or reputation and thwarting negative publicity (Ferguson et al 2000; Bramner and Millington, 2005). This type of philanthropy is thus mutually beneficial to the interests of both business and stakeholders (Rick Jr. and Williams 2005). It is noted that the degree of the generosity of a firm is very often positively related to the firm's available cash resources (Seifert et al 2003) and its economic performance (Campbell et al, 2004). Sanchez (2000) reported politically strategic motives in corporate philanthropy in El Salvador. It is suggested that firms use corporate philanthropy to compensate for the loss of reputation after the violation of government's environmental regulations (Williams and Barrett 2000). Shell, a worldwide petroleum organisation, engages in corporate philanthropy in Nigeria by building schools and hospitals for local communities. Many of these are in the Niger Delta area where they operate. Ashanti Goldfields and Volta Aluminium Company (VALCO), mining companies in Ghana are also noted to be engaged with corporate philanthropy. As this information is derived from the website of these organizations, one has to question whether this is genuine philanthropy or examples of informal compensation for the various types of environmental pollution (water, soil/land and air) they are causing which can affect the health and the socio-economic lives of the local communities.

In venture philanthropy, human resources and funding are donated by entrepreneurs who expect social and tangible returns (Pepin 2005). The Gates Foundation established by Bill and Melinda Gates, is an example of venture philanthropy. It is suggested that the foundation has spent nearly \$60 billion on unorthodox approaches to global health in Africa and Asia with the aim of improving key aspects of medical research and interventions, especially in areas that are considered unprofitable by private industry in medicine and the pharmaceutical fields (Rondenilli 2003). This has benefited countless people in Africa, and it has also benefited Bill and Melinda Gates financially, and their shareholders.

#### *2.3.3.3 Diaspora philanthropy*

In general, diaspora philanthropy is defined as the donation of money, goods, skill and volunteer time from migrants to their community of origin (Power, 2006 ; Levitt 1996; Sahoo 2005; Orozco and Rouse, 2007; Van Hear et al 2004; Mercer et al 2009; Schoumaker, 2009 and Johnson 2007). Many definitions have emerged but Lethlean's definition succinctly details the concept of diaspora philanthropy. “, both individual and

organized, giving to causes or organisations in an original homeland by a population outside of its homeland either permanently or temporarily” (Lethlean, 2001:9). This incorporates four notions: donations from individual migrants, donations from groups of migrants, donations to ‘causes’ and to those among the diaspora who may be permanent or temporary residents in the country or city to which they migrated. However there is a debate about whether donations from individuals to their families should be considered as philanthropy. Many authors classify this action as a remittance that is associated with reciprocity (Moody 1984) and responsibility (Rapport and Docquier, 2006). Recent authors writing on diaspora philanthropy or remittances mainly focus on donations from diaspora groups such as hometown associations, alumni in diaspora and diaspora professional associations (Heath, 2009). Authors on this topic have emphasized the significance of contributions from those in diaspora to their homelands.

Opiniano has made some important contributions on this topic. He uses the term transnational philanthropy instead of diaspora philanthropy, arguing that there is a transnational relationship that links together the origin and the newly settled societies (Opiniano, 2002, 2005). He defines transnational philanthropy as the process in which migrants or the immigrants abroad allocate a portion of their income to fund development projects in their homeland country (Opiniano, 2002). However this sort of transnational philanthropy is argued to be weaker than the connections of those migrants within the borders of their own country (Mercer et al 2009).

Johnson (2007) observed that an unknown portion of major share of remittances transferred from emigrants to their country of origin is for philanthropic investment for public goods – e.g. building schools, health centres, community centres and other public amenities. Some individual remittances are also purposely sent to assist a community project (Van Hear et al 2004). Recorded worldwide flows of remittances stood at US\$297 billion in 2006 (Table 2.1), up from US\$263 billion recorded in 2005. In 2006, remittances sent home by migrants from developing countries stood at US\$221 billion, up from \$191 billion in 2005 and more than double the level reached in 2000. Estimates indicate that worldwide flows of remittances reached US\$318 billion in 2007, out of which US\$240 billion went to the developing world (Ribas, 2008). These amounts reflect only officially recorded transfers—the actual amount including unrecorded flows through formal and informal channels is believed to be significantly larger (Davies 2007). Recorded remittances are more than twice as large as official aid and nearly two-third of foreign direct investment flows to developing countries (Copeland-Carson,

2007; DFID, 2004). In particular, remittance flows to Africa are grossly underestimated, with wide gaps in data reporting in many countries (Van Hear et al, 2004).

## **2.4 Understanding rural development**

The academic concept of “development” became established following the famous inaugural speech to Congress by US President Harry Truman on 20 January 1949 when he described the south, also known today as ‘Third World’ as consisting of ‘underdeveloped areas’. This speech was successful in convincing many that the path of progress of every nation must follow that of the industrial nations of the North (Craft 2008; Sachs 2005). However, this philosophy was soon questioned and various theories and debates about how to achieve development evolved over time. Among these were theories of modernization, dependency, reformist approaches, sustainable development, alternative development, people-centred development and post development (Hall 2007; Baaz 2005). The emergence of different philosophies and approaches of development demonstrate how elusive the word is.

At the turn of the millennium, 2000, a very significant new initiative on ‘development’ was announced by the United Nations Secretary General, Kofi Annan. This shifted the focus towards the achievement of very specific targets the so-called Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). This global project has the aim and objectives of improving the well-being of mankind, especially those in developing countries by the year 2015 (Sachs 2005). The project has a set of eight development goals which serve as a guideline for countries to work towards as shown in Table 2.2.

This project was significant because it was the first time hunger had been officially included in a development project of this sort. The other goals had been included in past approaches (Sachs 2005). The UN challenged all nations to use their own efforts to achieve these goals. The United Nations Development Agency (UNDP), every year, publishes the performance of every country on the set goals and projects their possibility of achieving each goal. It can be argued that most developing countries, especially those in Sub-Saharan Africa, are struggling with their performance. This is due to the lack of finance to invest in the projects that will enable them to achieve the targeted goals (Sachs 2005).

Development has evolved a long way. However the approaches at the community levels are different. The next section will review various concepts in rural development.

**Table 2.1 The Millennium Development Goals**

Goals	Targets
1. Eradicate extreme poverty and hunger	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>* Halve, between 1990 and 2015, the proportion of people whose income is less than one dollar a day.</li> <li>* Halve, between 1990 and 2015, the proportion of people who suffer from hunger.</li> </ul>
2. Achieve universal primary education	*Ensure that by 2015 children everywhere, boys and girls alike, will be able to complete a full course of primary schooling.
3. Promote gender equality and empower women	* Eliminate gender disparity in primary and secondary education preferably by 2005, and at all levels by 2015.
4 .Reduce Child mortality	* Reduce by two thirds the mortality rate among children under the age of five.
5. Improve maternal health	* Reduce by three quarters the maternal mortality ratio.
6. Combat HIV/AIDS, malaria and other diseases	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>* Halt and begin to reverse the spread of HIV/AIDS.</li> <li>* Halt and begin to reverse the incidence of malaria and other major diseases.</li> </ul>
7. Ensure environmental sustainability	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>* Integrate the principle of sustainable development into country policies and programmes; reverse loss of environmental resources.</li> <li>* Reduce by half the proportion of people without sustainable access to safe water.</li> </ul>
8. Develop a global partnership for development	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>* Develop further an open trading and financial system that is rule based, predictable anon-discriminatory, includes a commitment to good governance, development and poverty reduction-nationally and internationally.</li> <li>* Address the least developed countries' special needs. This includes tariff and quota free access for their exports; enhanced debt relief for heavily indebted poor countries; cancellation of official bilateral debt; and more generous official development assistance for countries committed for poverty reduction.</li> <li>*Address the special needs of land lock and small island developing States.</li> <li>*Deal comprehensively with developing countries' debt problems through nationally and internationally measures to make debt sustainable in the long term.</li> <li>* In cooperation with the developing countries, develop decent and productive work for youth.</li> <li>*In cooperation with pharmaceutical companies, provide access to affordable essential drugs in developing countries.</li> <li>*In cooperation with the private sector, make available the benefits of new technologies – especially information and communication technologies.</li> </ul>

**Source: Sachs (2005)**

#### 2.4.2 The concept of rural development

Rural can be defined as a place that is not urban and which has a lower density of population. Rural communities in developing countries, especially in sub-Saharan Africa, are often identified with poverty (Ellis and Biggs 2000; Ashley and Maxwell 2002). The main purpose of rural development is to eradicate poverty in the rural communities.

Many scholars argue that the best way of dealing with rural poverty is to improve rural people's quality of life (Mwabu and Thorbecke 2004; Reilly 1987; Mabogunje 1981). Nimal Fernando argues that rural poverty must be dealt with through inclusive development which is multi-dimensional.

“Today there seems to be a universal consensus that the ultimate objective of rural development is to improve the quality of life of the rural people. This makes it essential to go beyond the income- related factors such as prices, production, and productivity to a range of non-income factors that influence quality of life and hence inclusiveness of rural development” (Fernando 2008:5).

Rural development during the period of modernization was often equated to agricultural development (Chambers 1983; Ellis and Biggs 2001; Ashley and Maxwell 2002). This was the period when high agricultural production was deemed to be the objective, in order to supply the growing industries which would bring about modernization (Ellis and Biggs 2001). However, since then there have been many changes in the way rural development is understood. Fernando observes that:

“there are four major factors that appear to have influenced the change: increased concerns about the persistent and deepening of rural poverty; changing views on the meaning of the concept of development itself; emergence of a more diversified rural economy in which rural non-farm enterprises play an increasingly important role; and increased recognition of the importance of reducing the non-income dimensions of poverty to achieve sustainable improvements in the socioeconomic well-being of the poor” (Fernando 2008:4).

The concept of inclusive development divides solutions to poverty into three interrelated dimensions: economic, social and political dimensions. The economic dimension deals with issues that are related to opportunities for the poor and low-income individuals and households. Improving the economic life of the rural people has been suggested to be essential to remove income inequalities (Marsden 2002; Barbier 1987; Platteu 2000; Robinson and Riddell 2001). The social dimension focuses on improving the social life of the poor and the vulnerable. It also deals with disadvantaged groups. Some of the issues dealt with under this class are gender inequality and

empowerment of women. The last element is the political dimension. It is concerned with the effective political participation of the poor, especially at the village level. Having reviewed the concept of philanthropy and that of rural development, the next section seeks to examine the emergence of a new form of philanthropy in some rural communities in the West African state of Ghana.

## **2.5 New perspectives of Philanthropy in Rural Development**

### **2.5.1 Development Philanthropy**

In recent times philanthropy in Ghana has embraced a different type of aim – rural development. Westerners considered as philanthropists are being installed and admitted into the traditional community leadership to take responsibility for development. This new approach, or development ‘concept’, has been very little analysed, especially with regard to the outcomes. The phenomenon has been widely reported by local and international media, but the focus has been on the sensational nature of foreigners being installed as chiefs and queens in Ghana. For this thesis, the less sensational but most important aspects are the anthropological and developmental perspectives that this new concept implies. These initiatives by traditional leaders are intended to be used to develop their communities. There have been a few studies that explain the nature of this new approach by the local communities. Steegstra (2006:233) has explained how foreign development chief/queen [philanthropist] are “usually installed without very elaborate procedure which are mostly based on the public aspect of chieftaincy”.

Some authors have confined their analysis to the cultural perspective as they examine the dangers of African traditions being diluted by the inclusion of foreign leaders. The concerns about culture have also been voiced by opinion leaders: politicians, educated chiefs and Ghanaians in the diaspora. Chiefs in history have been regarded by some as a selfish liability hindering development (Rathbone 2001; Arhin 1985; Nugent 1996) and this phenomenon is seen as one of their selfish moves. However others see merit in the idea. Steegstra (2006:5) has argued the concept is a way of ‘attaining the benefits of modernity’. This situation implies that the concept should be analysed in contexts other than culture in order to understand the various aspects which could be of academic interest and the credibility of this new field that links philanthropy to rural development.



In this thesis the study of the concept is approached by analysing its features and explaining the factors that influence the outcomes for rural development. The features of the concept are discussed in the next section.

### 2.5.2 Origin and Popularity

The position of philanthropic chief was created in 1982 by the late Asantehene Otumfuo Opoku Ware II at the occasion of his 25<sup>th</sup> anniversary of ascension to the throne. Development Philanthropists are known in the Ghanaian media as Development chiefs or queens (Bob-Milliar, 2008). In the Akan Language they are known as *Nkosuohene* for males and *Nkosuohemaa* for females.

Abayie-Boaten has conceptualized the framework within which the *Nkosuohene* (Development Chief) chiefship functions:

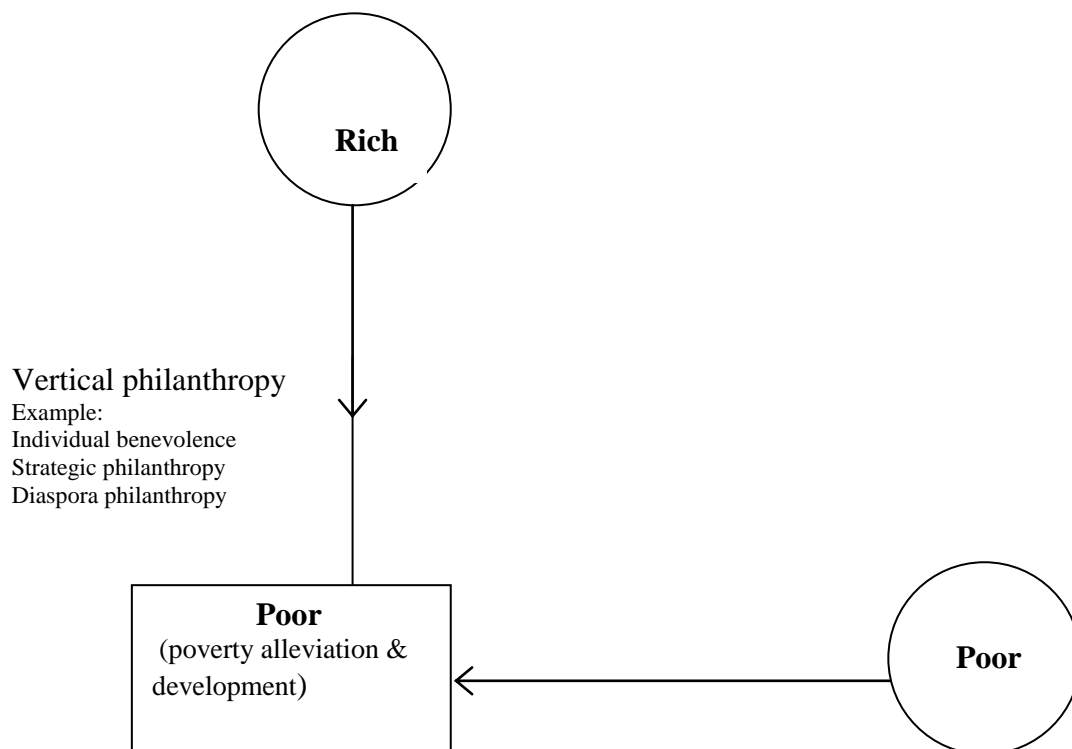
“*Nkosuo* is an Asante Twi word and it literally means ‘progress or sustained development’. *Ohene* or *Ohemaa* in Twi translate as chief and queen mother respectively, and the same linguistic rule applies throughout the Akan cultures. *Nkosuohene* therefore literally means ‘development chief’ and *Nkosuohemaa* is ‘development queen mother’. ..... it was not the responsibility of the *Nkosuohene/hemaa* to execute development projects single-handedly” (Abayie-Boaten 1999:12).

This position is not subject to political considerations like that of regular chiefs; their powers are limited to development and they are selected by a village specifically because of their philanthropic leanings and for what they might contribute to the village (Steegstra, 2004). With the understanding and knowledge of philanthropy by Africans they have certain in-built knowledge of what such philanthropy involves. The concept was encouraged among the Akan speaking chiefs before it spread to various regions in southern Ghana (Bob-Milliar 2009), especially among Ewe tribes who call the position *Ngoryi-fia*, which means ‘move towards development’. The position started with the installation of wealthy Ghanaians, possibly living abroad, who showed concern for their home community in Ghana. However, in recent times it has become commonplace for foreigners from the west to have been installed in this position.

### 2.5.3 Vertical Dimension

Rural communities are often too poor to contribute toward community projects, especially those without resources who receive limited help from the state. The development philanthropists take the responsibility of funding development projects for the communities.

Recent studies suggest that philanthropy can have two dimensions: horizontal philanthropy and vertical philanthropy (Wilkinson-Maposa and Fowler 2009; Wilkinson Maposa et al 2004). In horizontal philanthropy the flow of resources is between people of similar material status. For example, horizontal philanthropy in poor communities is largely from poor to poor, both the donor and the recipients are poor. This type of philanthropy rarely generates enough capital to bring about new development. It is most often associated with survival (Everrat et al 2004) and it is not the focus of this thesis. The focus here is on vertical philanthropy which involves the flow of resources in a top down manner from an individual or community level (see Figure 2.2). It includes giving through individual benevolence or strategy. That means the donations or funding by development philanthropists, toward the development of a poor community is in a vertical dimension. The poor villagers are the recipients, receiving from the philanthropists who are of a higher economic status. Not much has been written about this phenomenon, but as it is vertical it is likely to be top-down in decision-making in projects for communities.



**Figure 2.2 Dimensions of the concept of Philanthropy. Modified from Wilkinson-Maposa et al (2009; 2004)**

#### 2.5.4 Traditional Institutions

In Africa, local people are organized in various traditional forms (Guri 2006). In Ghana, the organized traditional communities are headed by hereditary leaders called chiefs (Ray 2003). The chief rules by processes which are underpinned by rituals, norms and myths which legitimize their authority (Ubbink 2008; Rathbone 2000). In the colonial era the chiefs used to govern at the unit/ community level of the state. However, the post-colonial state relegated them to just custodians of culture and traditional rulers. The post-colonial states perceived them as impediments to development and agents of colonial oppressors (Guri 2006; Arhin 2008; Rathbone 2000, 1968; Grichow 2008). In recent times the traditional leaders, after decentralisation, have gained the courage to assert their authority as leaders of their people responsible for their socio-economic welfare as well as custodians of traditions (Guri 2008; Odotei 2004; Ubbink 2008). Their new role in the socio-economic development of their community is not absolute as the state is also taking the same responsibilities upon itself, collecting taxes from the people. However, the traditional authorities feel the state is not capable of funding their development and care for their welfare (Odotei 2004). The appointment of foreign philanthropists is therefore made by the traditional rulers and the philanthropists operate in collaboration with the traditional authorities (Steegstra 2004; Bob-Milliar 2009). In these positions, the philanthropists do not follow strict customary regulations and are not subject to local political considerations as are regular chiefs because their powers are limited to “development” and are not hereditary. However they are expected to observe some of the local traditions and customs in order to harmonize with their people (Steegstra 2006). Their installation ceremonies are performed in the traditional way and they are introduced to the public by a traditional durbar (Rouveroy van Nieuvaal et al.1999 ), clothed in traditional regalia at official meetings ( Steegstra 2006), given ancestral ‘stool’ or ‘skin’ names and operate under the traditional chiefs (Steegstra 2006; 2008). Observation of tradition and customs is very important to the people. The traditional element being part of this new concept gives a new dimension to development.

#### 2.5.5 Nature of philanthropic resources

There is a wide range of philanthropic resources that are observed in this phenomenon (Steegstra 2006; Bob-Milliar 2008). The main resources are providing funding and/or skilled personnel for improving education, libraries, electricity, clean water and roads

for communities. The most common philanthropic resource is funding in education. Philanthropy in education comes in the form of building new schools, renovating old ones, stocking the school libraries, laboratory and workshops with books, equipment and instruments. In Ghana education is considered as a key determinant of wellbeing as a better education can secure employment in the formal public and private sectors (Ashong 2001; Adjasi and Osei 2007). Lack of education is also considered as a major cause of poverty in Africa (Kyei 2007). In rural communities, those who have education may migrate to the cities for formal employment which enables them to send remittances to their families back home (Dugbazah 2007). The stocking of computers in the rural schools also improves the level information and communication technology (ICT) which is considered as becoming essential to rural development (Odotei 2004; Chapman and Slaymaker 2002). It is argued that ICT can link the villagers to the rest of the world and also enable them to improve their standards of living. Other common philanthropic resources are infrastructural assets like roads, transport, clean drinking water, sanitation, community centres and electricity. These assets are classified as physical capital to a community (Scoones 1998; Ashong 2001; Carney 1998) which can generate or provide access to other capital in the short and/or long term future (Farrington 1999). Infrastructural assets are crucial because they meet the needs of the people directly and are also used as indicators of the wellbeing of a community (Scoones 1998). Another observable provision is the use of voluntary recruitment to bring in service personnel including teachers, medical doctors and nurses from abroad to help the villages. This creates human capital for the villages. Human capital is not only useful for its intrinsic values but also all other capital assets as well (Ashong 2001). The recruitment of personnel, especially in health, is essential in developing countries. The health status of a rural community determines their quality of life, productivity and life expectancy (GSS, 1998).

#### 2.5.6 Transnationalisation

The nature of the concept must also be placed in the context of transnationalisation. The concept started with the installation of wealthy Ghanaians (especially from abroad) who show concern for his/her home community (Steergsta 2006) and are willing to fund development projects. The communities now prefer installing foreigners instead of local philanthropists. The profile of the foreigners taking these position ranges from businessmen, tourists, gap year students and ordinary foreign workers. Local Ghanaians perceive that those from abroad where currencies in circulation are powerful, such as

the Pound Sterling, the US Dollar, or the Euro, are rich and that even a small amount of these currencies can be substantially useful when changed into Cedis [local currency] (Kabki et al 2008). Another local perception is that “white persons” [foreign] are honest, philanthropic and resourceful (Ahodet, 1978). On the other hand, local philanthropists are accused of considering their personal interests before those of the people (Steegstra, 2006).

As these development chiefs and queens are foreigners, the transfer of their home land currency into that of the host country for a philanthropic project is transitional philanthropy (Opiniano 2005; 2002).

Transnationalisation is also implied when philanthropists establish a special relationship between their villages and their cities of residence. The city of Newcastle in the United Kingdom has an exchange programme with Shia, a village in Ghana, for example and the philanthropist involved is one of those discussed further in later chapters. Dr Perry, a development chief for Kuntu, another village in Ghana has established a society of donors called “friends of Kuntu” in Pennsylvania (his home city) where the group make annual visits to village for voluntary works ([ghanavillage.com](http://ghanavillage.com)). There have also been leadership visits from the two communities. This extends the actors in this concept to include those residing outside the country (Ghana). On the topic of voluntary work, many development chiefs and queens have connected the world to their villages by setting up websites to attract volunteers from professional groups and gap year students to their villages.

## **2.6 Participation and Rural Communities**

### **2.6.1 Meaning and popularity of participation**

The understanding of participation has been dynamic during the time period in which it has been promoted as a key way to deliver sustainable development. It is characterized by ‘the shift of popular participation in the 1970s to community development in the 1980s, and to the stakeholder perspective in the 1990s’ (Cornwall 2002: cited by Mohan 2007). It has recently been associated with a ‘process of empowerment’ (Mohan 2007:781) which concerns the ‘discarding of mainstream development’s neocolonial tendencies, Western-centric values and centralized decision-making processes’ (Kapoor 2005; 1203); with a renewed emphasis on citizenship (Mohan 2007).

The World Bank Learning Group (1995) had defined participation as a process through which stakeholders influence and share control over development initiatives and the

decisions and resources which affect them. A significant force in the turn towards participatory approaches was the disenchantment with state control of and intervention in economies and development processes which typifies the neo-liberal era although there are many other ostensibly more progressive factors at play as well. Hickey and Mohan (2004:1), for example, noted that “several approaches to participation emerged in an era of state failure, panic over top-down modernization approaches, proclamation of the end of grand explanations and a measure of post-colonial guilt”. Interest in participatory approaches also rose rapidly in the field of geography (Kesby 2005), as the concept became orthodoxy over the past two decades, and top development agencies embraced participation in their development guidelines (Mohan 2007) although there has been much variation in the extent to which this involved replacing ‘Western-centric values and centralized decision-making processes’ (Kapoor 2005:1203). Recent international approaches such as Poverty Reduction Strategy and Millennium Development Goals theoretically have their implementation based on popular participation and country ‘ownership’. This suggests that participation has become a major vehicle for development aid and planning ‘scaling up from localized projects’ (Mohan 2007:781).

#### 2.6.7.2 The debate

There is heated debate amongst academics on the nature of participation and how it should be implemented. This has divided academics into three schools of thought which this thesis identifies namely as the optimists, the pessimists and the transformists of participation.

The optimists are the proponents of participation who argue that participatory approaches can have the following positive outcomes: as a way of addressing ‘poverty and the disenfranchisement of the poor’ (Mercer 2002:102); enabling stakeholders to identify and make decisions for development priorities themselves and to work together to achieve a common goal (Khan 2006); opposition to existing and unsustainable ‘top-down’ approaches (Chambers 1983, 1997; Fals-Borda and Rahman 1991); enabling poor communities to utilize their resources in a responsible manner and make local leaders more accountable and responsive in the provision of public goods and services (Khan 2006); preventing local elites, who tend to dominate in decision making, from capturing the benefits of development interventions (Christens and Speers 2004; Mansuri and Rao 2004); bringing communities together thereby ensuring binding social capital and reconciliation of conflict of interests (Khan 2006; World Bank 2000;

Putnam 1993); motivating poor people to claim ownership of projects (Kapoor 2008) and encouraging people to embrace common objectives (Fernando 2008; Murdoch and Morgan 1996).

The Pessimists, on the other hand, argue that the advocates of participation are deluded in believing that participation circumvents power (Cooke and Kothari 2001; Kapoor 2005). To them, there is no convincing proof that participation is living up to its promise to empower marginal people. Leading critics of participation are Cooke and Kothari's who authored the book *Participation: The New Tyranny* (Cooke and Kothari 2001)? The book challenged the ideas and claims that had come to be associated with the participation concept. The book suggests that participatory development strategies, in contrast to the usual claims, promote and mask the power relationships existing between stakeholders in development projects (Christens and Speers 2006). These masking effects, as they described 'tyranny', are categorized into 3 types by Cooke and Kothari (2001):

- The dominance of multinational agencies and funders remains behind the claims.
- The absolute focus on participation hides the limitations and manipulations that suppress understanding of the continued effect of local power differentials.
- The participatory method itself is dominant because it does not consider other methods and allows limited dialogue to achieve development.

Some of the pessimists argue that participatory development projects have often failed to engage with the issues of power and politics and have become technical approaches to development. Such technical approaches tend to depoliticize what should be an explicitly political process (Cleaver 1999; Carman 1996). They also accuse the imposition of 'participation' of representing a form of power which is full of authority and domination and little different from other externally imposed forms of development approach. Many doubts have been cast on participation including that the approach usually involves insufficient understanding of how power operates and how it is constituted and how empowerment may occur (Mosse 1994; Kothari 2001); that there is inadequate understanding of the role of structure and agency in social change (Cleaver 1999); that it tends to romanticize and homogenize the places in which political action occurs and treating the local and community as unproblematic (Hickey and Mohan 2004); that not all development issues can be handled by locals (Brett 2003); that the

social capital perspective of participation neglects crucial issues of class distinction and power (Fine 2001; Harriss 2001) and that participation does not recognize that it can be destructive as well as constructive (Portes 1998). The pessimists also highlight that the benefits and processes of participation are all too easily hijacked by local elites (Desai 1996; Majoux 1995)

The Transformists believe that despite the fierce criticism, participation should not be discarded and instead suggest ‘coherent and positive reconciliation’ (Kesby 2007) between the two opposing views. In their view, ‘participation has deepened and extended its role in development, with new range of approaches emerging across theory, policy and practices’ (Hickey and Mohan 2004:3). They argue that the proper objective of participation should be to ensure the transformation of existing development practices and capacity gaps which cause social exclusion (ibid:3). Transformists also suggest that the consideration of spatial dimensions of participation, local politics and empowerment can enhance the benefits of participation (Mohan 2005; Cornwall 2002; Mercer 2002). Hickey and Mohan’s (2004) volume *From Tyranny to Transformation* was published to modify participatory theory. The book was structured around 3 themes:

- Transformation which tends to explain the aims of the concept, and the conditions and factors which enables positive achievements.
- Temporal and the spatial themes which move the concept to a contextual level bringing into consideration political processes and spaces of power.
- A representation theme which put the concept into broader multidimensional process of democratization and the achievement of functional citizenship.

(Christens and Speers 2006:4).

#### 2.6.7.3 Community, Participation and Politics

There has not been a clear definition for the word ‘community’ in the development perspective. Two problems associated with the use of community in participatory development are identified by Mansuri and Rao:

”Defining the geography or conceptual boundaries of community is not always straight forward. For example, administrative boundaries distinct from



settlement boundaries..... [And] unqualified use of the term obscures local structures of economic and social power that are likely to influence project outcomes” (Mansuri and Rao 2004: 8)

The boundaries in this context could define locations relating to tribal, traditional, cultural, religious, political and social system or even business spheres. In this thesis rural communities in Ghana are considered as those administered by the traditional authorities defined by locally recognized historical traditional boundaries.

The second issue relates to the many cleavages and differences that exist within even easily identified and small rural communities. These include, for example, different interests that occur based on age and gender. These can cause tensions even within individual households, let alone village ‘communities’. Wealth and power are also unequally distributed in most ‘communities’ but the impact of this on participation and development outcomes from participatory projects is too rarely properly factored into the approach. Doing so is time-consuming and risks the project or initiative being hindered by powerful local vested interests, rendering it ineffective. Yet ignoring the inequalitarian impact of such interests also undermines the theorized advantages of the approach in terms of the achievement of welfare and development outcomes desired by the disadvantaged and poor within these communities. Ghanaian village communities, as is typical of Sub-Saharan African rural communities, are complex and inequalities within them are historically constituted (Edwards 2004). There is differentiation based on class and social hierarchies and differential access to land and these result in power imbalance, inequalities and conflicts (Grischow 2008) especially where there is lack of proper leadership (Owusu Sarpong 2003). The politics and power associated with a typical Ghanaian rural culture are discussed fully at chapter three (Section 3.4).

#### 2.6.7.4. Community Participation and Elite Capture

The history of modern theorizing about community participation dates from the early 1960s through the emergence of the notion that ‘the oppressed need to unite to find their way to improve their own destiny’. The most influential proponents of this concept were Paulo Freire with his influential 1970 book *‘The Pedagogy of the Oppressed’*, the cooperative movement and the Gandhian notion of village self-reliance and small-scale development (Mansuri and Rao 2004).

The main skepticism by the critics about community participation relates to the politics and power behind it. Olson (1973) and Hardin (1982) noted that without coercion or a special device to move individuals towards a common interest, collective action by a community will be difficult to achieve. Others feel that participation too often takes the form of forced or coerced labour, with the poor pressured into making far more substantial contributions than the rich (Bowen 1986; Ribot 1995). Mansuri and Rao (2004), in their analysis of community-based projects in Africa, Asia and South America, suggested that “participation may lead to psychological and physical duress for the most socially and economically disadvantaged, because genuine participation may require taking positions that are contrary to the interest of powerful group” (Mansuri and Rao 2004:6). These arguments therefore suggest the existence of elite capture and hijacking of community interests in participatory projects.

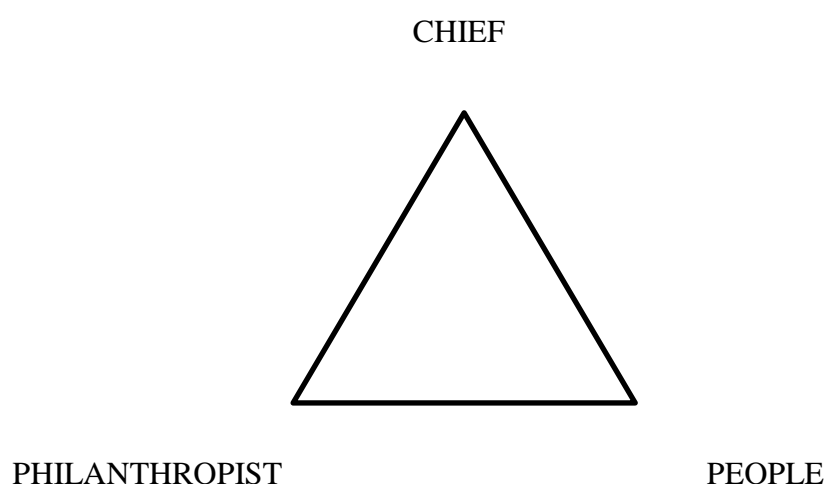
Other observers of participatory projects have argued in similar vein to Mansuri and Rao. They observed that community-based projects have all too often not resulted in meaningful participation of the poor in development and that the local elites continue to make and implement decisions in their own interests under the cover of participatory organizational structures (Oakley 1999; Oakley and Marsden 1984). However, some analysts have pointed to more positive outcomes whereby even though the elites may benefit more from the project in some cases, the poorer members also benefited slowly or later (Baker and Jewitt 2006; Adedayo 1985).

The debates about the limitations and potential of community participation are important for this thesis because, according to Abayie Boaten (2004), one of the requirements of the concept of development philanthropy is community participation. In section 1.3 of Chapter one, the GNA report indicated the peoples’ intention to be involved - using the expression ‘working hand in hand’ with the development philanthropist. A key question therefore was how would such participation be implemented in a typical Ghanaian rural community? Were the benefits of participation likely to be achieved in such heterogeneous communities as found in rural Ghana, where social exclusiveness and bias is embedded in the norms of culture, or would the ‘tyranny’ aspects of participation predominate – for example with full elite capture of all benefits? Or would some transformed/modified form of participation arise? One of the aims of this thesis is to find out the nature of participation involved in this concept.

## **2.6 Development philanthropy: towards rural development**

### **2.6.1 Conceptual framework**

As established, so far the concept of development philanthropy in Ghana has not been examined empirically. It is in this respect that this thesis analyses the concept, with the outcome, the rural development perspective, and the relationships and roles of the stakeholders involved (Figure 2.3).



**Figure 2.3 Specific relationship between stakeholders**

Here the roles of the stakeholders are analysed and the variables that can influence the outcome of the concept are defined. Considering the stakeholders and their roles, this thesis argues that the influential variables to be considered are first, the nature and level of participation; second, the nature of philanthropy; and, third, the effectiveness of traditional administration.

### **2.6.3 Poverty alleviation and well being**

The concept of development philanthropy is expected to address rural poverty and improve the quality of life of the rural poor. The thesis will therefore analyse the promotion of activities that can contribute to the livelihoods of the rural poor.

The thesis will also use the Millennium Development Goals as a reference for the achievement of development outcomes.

#### 2.6.4 Implementation of Community participation

This issue of participation is central to the analysis in this thesis of development chiefs and is developed in Chapter 5. The nature and level of participation from the perspective of the people is analysed on various dimensions - who participates and how they participate. The thesis draws on the idea that 'people should participate from need identification to need satisfaction stage, decision making and participation in programme implementation' (Cohen and Uphoff 1980). On the question of who participates, the thesis focuses on those affected by the concept (Khan 2006; Lane 1995; Cohen and Uphoff 1980). .

#### 2.6.5 Role of traditional leadership

Evaluating the effectiveness of the traditional chiefs is another key aim of the thesis which is concerned with how they might be able to communicate the collective interest or priorities of the people to the philanthropists, and vice versa. The institutional elements of the leadership and its ability to administer good governance are also considered. Here both qualitative and quantitative assessments are used on factors such as legitimacy of the institutions, their responsiveness, transparency and accountability. Analysis is also made of how they can bring harmony between the people and the Development chief/queen (DQC) when there is a conflict of interests. Their level of accountability and transparency is also considered.

#### 2.6.6 Nature of philanthropy

Examining the effectiveness of the philanthropists is a further aim. This factor will be fully discussed in chapter 7. The analysis focuses on the availability of funding and resources for development interventions and projects. It is also concerned with the motives and the abilities of the philanthropists on: fund raising, ability to ensure participation and representation, cultural and political sensitivity.

## **2.7 Conclusion**

This chapter reviewed the meaning of philanthropy. It also analyzed how ‘development philanthropy’, a new philanthropic concept, might have development impact in rural communities in Ghana. As participatory development is seen to be a key feature of the practice of this new development practice in Ghana, the debates about this approach and the problematic issue of the cohesiveness of so-called ‘communities’ in the development literature are also discussed.

The features that can influence the outcome of the concept are identified as level of participation, effectiveness of leadership and the nature of philanthropy. These variables are used to investigate the outcome of the concept in the three research villages – Kpone Bawaleshie, Konkonuru and Shia. In the next chapter, the livelihood and socio-economic background of rural communities in southern Ghana where the research sites are found is discussed.

## **CHAPTER THREE**

### **RURAL GHANA: DEVELOPMENT CONTEXT AND THE ROLE OF TRADITIONAL AUTHORITIES**

#### **3.1 Introduction**

This chapter provides contextual information on the livelihoods and socio-economic background of Ghanaian rural communities in general. It also discusses the importance and role of chieftaincy in the rural communities. To keep the discussions in line with the aims of the thesis, this chapter also looks at what rural people perceive to be lacking in their quality of life and in their links with the traditional leadership in these communities.

#### **3.2 Socio-economic background of Ghana**

##### **3.2.1 Comparative geography**

Formed from the merger of the British colony of the Gold Coast and the Togoland trust territory, in 1957 Ghana became the first sub-Saharan country in colonial Africa to gain its independence. In Western Africa, Ghana borders the Gulf of Guinea and lies between Cote d'Ivoire to the west, Togo to the east and Burkina Faso to the north. Ghana has a population of about 24.2 million (GSS 2010) and has 10 regions; Ashanti, Brong-Ahafo, Central, Eastern, Greater Accra, Northern, Upper East, Upper West, Volta and Western. The country is endowed with natural resources such as timber, cocoa and gold and, discovered in 2010, crude oil. Ghana's total GDP was GHc 66.6 billion (USD 41.7 billion) at the end of the first quarter of 2011 (Ghana Statistical Service, 2011). Even so, Ghana remains dependent on international financial and technical assistance (Yeboah, 2006). The domestic economy continues to revolve around subsistence agriculture, which employs 55.1% of the work force, mainly small landholders.

### 3.2.2 Economic history: fighting poverty

Ghana has always been at the forefront of economic and political developments in Africa. However, until the mid 1980s, the country experienced persistent political instability and many regime changes (Schaum, 1982; Gyimah-Boadi, 1994). Independence opened a new chapter in an ambitious course of economic development. There were multiple changes of regimes and ideological direction; from Pan-Africanism to pro-market approaches. These brought the country closer to economic and political instability. Additionally, unfavourable global terms of trade contributed to the long period of those economic and political circumstances between the 1960s and the mid 1980s. The economic growth rate became low, characterised by a drop in the level of investment, and a rise in poverty and inflation (Aryeetey and Goldstein, 1998; Huq, 1989). Ghana became one of the African countries to implement a far-reaching Economic Recovery Program introduced by the World Bank (World Bank 2006; Hutchful, 1985). This started in 1983 under the military regime of the Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC) and continued into the fourth constitutional republic in 1992 under a democratically elected government. The programme was backed by the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank and various bilateral donor agencies. Among other changes, the reforms were aimed at down-sizing and redefining the role of government in economic affairs. These reforms reversed the decade-long decline of Ghana's economy: industrial output which had declined by 1% annually between 1970 and 1980 began to rise by 4% annually between 1983 and 1992 (World Bank, 1994:164).

The increase in growth in Ghana's economy and poverty reduction are mostly credited to the government's efforts in various poverty reduction programmes. According to Gyan-Baffour (2003) and EIU (2010), the following initiatives towards poverty reduction in the country took place after the introduction of the Economic Recovery Programme (ERP) by the PNDC government in 1983:

- Programme of Action to Mitigate the Social Cost of Adjustment (PAMSCAD)
- The Child Cannot Wait-1992
- National Action Programme for Poverty Reduction-1995
- Extended Poverty Study-1988-1992, 1995
- Free Compulsory Universal Basic Education (UBE)-1996
- Medium Term Health Strategy (MTHS)-1995
- Revised Population Policy and Population Action Plans-1994

The ‘Ghana Vision 2020’, formulated in 1996, aimed at “transforming the country to the upper limit medium income economy by the year 2020” (Kunfaa 2000). This project emphasizes poverty reduction, raising the living standards of rural people, especially women.

The Government of Ghana’s Poverty Reduction Strategy (GPRS) has also been credited for growth. The first phase strategy was initiated in 2002 with the commitment of transforming its economy to achieve growth, accelerate poverty reduction and protect poor people in a decentralised, democratic environment (Kyei, 2001). This has been credited with an increase in macro-economic stability (EIU, 2010). The second phase (2006-09) focused on vulnerable and excluded people such as poor agricultural workers, particularly migrant farm hands and traditional fishermen, as well as the productive poor including women in the informal sector, subsistence farmers and disabled persons. In this phase, it was projected that middle income status would be reached by 2015 with average annual income per capita rising from US\$ 400 to US\$ 1000 (CFSVA, 2009).<sup>1</sup>

GPRS2 is based on the following priority areas:

- Continued macroeconomic stability and growth;
- Accelerated private sector led growth, with a major focus on the rural economy and the modernization of agriculture;
- Vigorous human resources development, ensuring access and improved quality of social services ( education, health, etc ), safe drinking water and the provision of a clean environment;
- Specially designed programme targeting the poorest and most vulnerable in society, ensuring their access to social services and employment opportunities;
- Good governance and civic responsibility, mainly through decentralization and capacity building (CFSVA, 2009:30).

The GPRS policy framework is also noted to be in harmony with the targets set forth for the Millennium Development Goals (Gyan-Baffour 2003) and the New Partnership for

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<sup>1</sup> A Comprehensive Food Security and Vulnerability Analysis (CFSVA) is a baseline survey that provides an in-depth picture of the food security situation and the vulnerability of households in a given country. It is conducted at normal times, and not during a crisis, in countries subject to vulnerabilities



African Development (NEPAD). This explains why the success of the GPRS has led to the country being tipped to meet the MDGs by 2015.

### 3.2.3 Poverty Profile of Ghana

Ghana is currently commended by some international development agencies, such as Department for International Development (DFID) and United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) because she is on the right track to achieve the first five MDGs by 2015. According to the Comprehensive Food Security and Vulnerability Analysis (CSVA) data from FAO, shows that the national average poverty<sup>2</sup> figure has decreased from 51% in 1991 to 28.5% in 2005/2006 (CFSVA, 2009). These figures seem to be taken from those from the Ghana Statistical Survey (GSS). Table 3.1 shows the poverty incidence figures from 1991 to 2006.

**Table 3.1 Comparable poverty incidences in Ghana.**

	Poverty incidence (%)
GLSS 3 :1991/1992	
Urban	27.7
Rural	<b>63.6</b>
National average	51.7
GLSS 4: 1998/1999	
Urban	19.4
Rural	<b>49.5</b>
National average	39.5
GLSS 5 : 2005/2006	
Urban	--
Rural	--
National average	28.5

**Sources: GLSS (1998, 2000, 2005)**

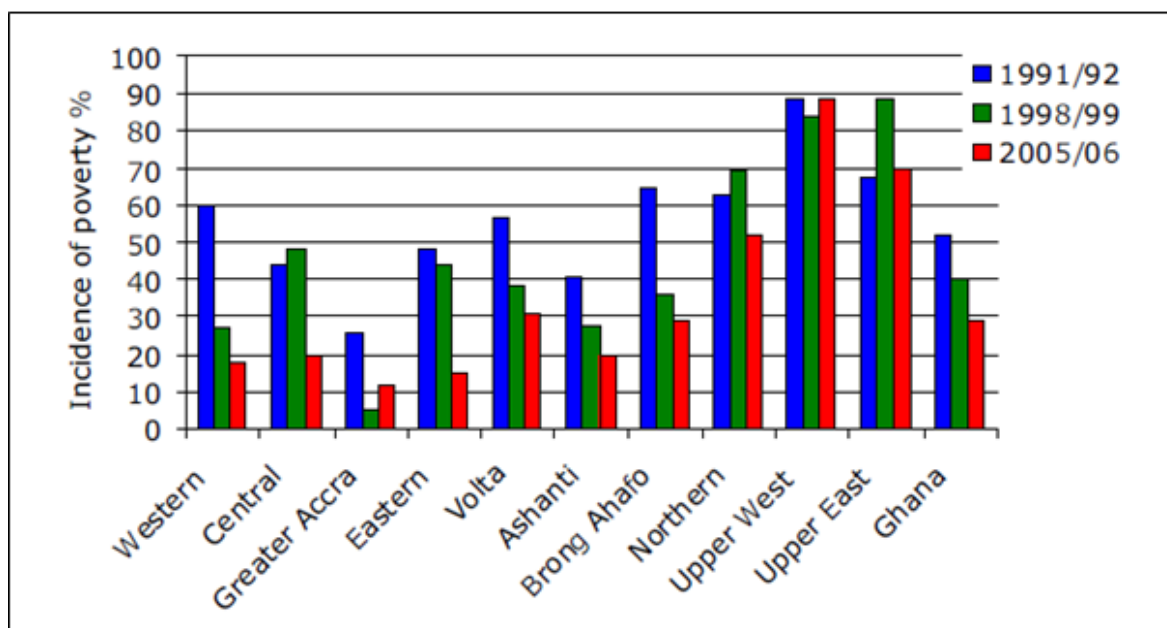
UNDP (2010) also reports a further decline in poverty between 2006 and 2008 in Ghana, with the average figure reduced from 28.5% to 18.2%.

However, extreme poverty still exists in Ghana. Of the 18.2% of Ghanaians still living in extreme poverty in 2008,<sup>3</sup> 54% were in the northern part of the country (Upper West, Upper East and Northern regions). This geographical differentiation in poverty

<sup>2</sup> A person living on less than US Dollar 1.00 per day is defined as poor (Sachs, 2005).

<sup>3</sup> Extreme poverty is the equivalent of an income of less than GHc288 per adult per year convert to us dollar.

incidence, between 1992 and 2006, is shown in figure 3.1, according to the ten administrative regions of the country.



**Figure 3.1. Poverty incidence by administrative region in Ghana, 1991 - 2006.**  
Source: Ghana Statistical Services (1992, 1999, 2006)

The bar chart data shows how poverty is declining, except in the three northern regions and Greater Accra. The anomalous changes in Greater Accra, between 1998/1999-2005/2006 could be due to continuing rural-urban migration, which is likely to cause unemployment. Many migrate to Accra, the capital, with the hope of finding more prosperous work. On the other hand, obviously the general incidence of poverty in this region is the lowest in the country.

On poverty indicators, DFID (2008) reports that the provision of potable water has increased by 10% since the 1990s; HIV/AIDS is low at 2.7% and primary school enrolment rose from 86% in 2005/06 to 91% in 2006/07. However, there is a stall in life expectancy in adults, maternal mortality and a small increase in child mortality.

Nevertheless it must be also pointed out that farmers populate the poorest sector of the national economy. According to CFSVA (2009), 46% of farmers live below the poverty line. This shows how poverty is located primarily in rural areas. This leads to the concern of how the rural population dealt with poverty by their livelihood, discussed in the next section- an issue important to this thesis.

### **3.3 Nature of livelihoods in rural Ghana**

#### **3.3.1 Comparative pictures of rural and urban livelihoods**

A comparative discussion of the socio- economy and standard of living, of rural and urban Ghana will assist in gaining a deeper understanding of rural Ghanaian livelihoods. The Ghanaian government statistical department started to conduct surveys to assess the standard of living and poverty levels of various regions in 1988. This survey, the Ghana Living Standard Survey (GLSS), has been continued inconsistently. The last survey, GLSS 5, was conducted in 2005 and the results were published in 2008. According to GSS and the Ministry of Economic Planning in Ghana, the latest survey is the most reliable of the five. It is more detailed and reached more respondents than previous surveys. According to the GLSS5, 13.8 million of Ghana's 24.2 million inhabitants live in rural areas. United Nations demographic data reveal that the economically active age group (15-64) forms a lower proportion of the rural population (49.6%) than the urban (58.2%), while the aged group (65+) are more prevalent in rural (5.7%) than urban areas (4.7%). The probable explanation is that the active age group migrate to the urban areas for educational purposes or to seek employment opportunities, while the aged move back to their home towns or villages after retirement from active work. Rural households tend to be slightly larger than those in the urban areas (4.4 members compared to 4.0 members) and to have more children under 16 (2.2 compared to 1.6).

In Ghana, poverty is measured quantitatively by formal survey mechanisms that calculate household consumption and expenditure. The traditional household consumption per capita method is no longer in use. From table 3.1, it can be seen that the percentage of the rural population defined as living in poverty (poverty incidence) fell from 63.6% in 1991/92 to a little under 50% in 1998/99 (GSS 2000a). By the 2005/06 survey, the incidence had fallen further although only the figure for the entire country was given by the GSS: 28.5% (Ghana Living Standard Survey, 2008). The probability of living in poverty is higher in rural than urban areas:

In 2008, 80% of the population classified as poor were found in rural areas (either using the extreme or the standard poverty line). However evidently the incidence of poverty across the country, in both rural and urban areas, has been falling in the past twenty years which is very positive.

Employment in rural areas is high in comparison to the national figure. About 72% of employed people work in agriculture. However, as mentioned, many people in active age groups migrate to urban areas for jobs, due to the perception that agriculture is a low income job for illiterates. Mean annual household income for rural areas is GHc 1067 compared to GHc 1415 for the urban. Of this, 14.8% of income is from employment, 57.7% from household agriculture, 18.8% from non-farm employment, 1.9% from rental income and 6.1% from remittances. Some of this income is from children's work as the 2008 survey found that 19% of rural children aged 7-14 work, though most of them work to help family farms, not for cash. From this same survey, the average annual urban expenditure is at GHc 2499 and was higher than that in rural areas at GHc 1514 (GLSS 2008). However, these figures do not marry up with the average annual income in both urban and rural households, suggesting problems with the enumeration. About 62% of the total expenditure made by rural households is devoted to food, compared to 43% for urban households.

There have also been positive improvements in health outcomes in Ghana recently. According to the 'MDG 2010 Report' there was a highly positive 30% reduction in the child under-five mortality rate in the five years between 2003 and 2008: from 111 per 1000 live births in 2003 to 80 in 2008 (UNDP 2010). However the mortality ratio of children under five for urban to rural areas is 1:3, so outcomes for rural children are significantly worse.

In education, there have also been significant improvements recently. The number of schools and enrolment rates have increased after the various reforms and policies implemented by the government to achieve the MDG targets since 2001 (UNDP 2010). Indicators of educational attainment calculated from the GLSS (2008) shows that 92.1% of rural people between the ages of 15-25 attend school across all levels of the educational ladder, compared to 95.8% in urban areas. According to UNDP (2010), there is a more than 38% literacy rate for those aged 15 or older who can read and write English and a local language. The GLSS5 included migration questions. Somewhat surprisingly these found that 37% of all migration moves in the country in the past year had been from urban to rural areas, compared to only 6.8% from rural to urban (GLSS, 2008). This might be due the high unemployment, family reasons, and higher expenditure in the urban areas. However these migration data are somewhat in conflict with the results of the 2010 census which found the country had rapidly urbanized since the previous census in 2000. A possible answer might lie in differential definitions of

‘urban’ in the different surveys, as very many settlements defined as urban in the census are quite small, and movement into these from large towns might have been defined as urban-rural migration, and movement to them from deep rural areas might have been considered as rural-rural movement. However it has not been possible to verify this hypothesis.

As in many African countries, home ownership in Ghana is more common in rural areas, as many urban people have to rent. According to GLSS5 59% of rural people own their houses compared to 26% in the urban. However, more than 91% of houses in the rural areas are compound houses, huts or single rooms, built from mud with roofing from dried plants. In the rural areas, 85% get their water for domestic needs and for drinking from either wells or natural sources, as compared to 73% of urban people, who get their water from piped supplies more commonly than their rural counterparts.

### 3.3.2 Perceptions and characteristics of rural poverty

Poverty is all too often defined and categorised in academic, development and political circles by those who have never been affected, experienced or felt it as Chambers (2006:2) noted:

“Our common meanings [of poverty] have all been constructed by us, the non-poor people.....and it reflects our power to make definitions according to our perceptions”. (Chambers 2006:2)

Kyei (2000) noted that this top down approach to poverty (both the concept and the way it is measured) is responsible for the failures of intervention programmes which aimed to ‘parcel up’ the complexities of poverty. It is therefore appropriate to consider the rural communities who are the best judges of their experiences and can determine their own priorities and solutions to their problems (Korbe, 1998). The work carried out by the “voices of the poor” exercise across several countries by the UNDP reflects the complex and interwoven nature of poverty (Narayan et al, 2000). The causes identified include a lack of material resources; the need for shelter, assets and money, and they are often characterized by hunger, pain, discomfort, exhaustion, social exclusion, vulnerability, powerlessness and low self- esteem. In Ghana the perceptions of poverty and wellbeing vary between the sexes and between the rural and the urban dweller. Rural people identify issues such as food security, ability to have children, physical ability, the ownership of land and property, agriculture and environmental factors as key

influences or determinants of poverty (Appiah, 1999; Kunfaa, 1999). One poverty survey, at a regional and district level, conducted by Nkum and Ghartey (2000) highlighted the following elements as defined by the poor themselves;

“The defining characteristics of the poor in Ghana are the inability to afford needs (food, shelter, clothes, health care and education); the absence of economic indicators like jobs, labour, crop farms, livestock, investment opportunities; the inability to meet some social requirements like paying development levies, funeral dues, participation in public gatherings; and the absence of basic community services and infrastructure such as health, education, water and sanitation access roads and etc” (Nkum and Ghartey, 2000 quoted by Ashong and Smith 2001: 6).

Kunfaa (1999), found that the rural poor in Ghana find it difficult to understand the concepts of security, risk, opportunities, social exclusion, social and economic mobility as suggested by academics (Sen 1998; Chambers 1983; Kawani 2006) He noted from his survey that:

“....from what they understand from the questions posed, security is perceived in terms of the spiritual and the physical. In some rural areas, security is perceived as having many livestock on which to rely in times of hardship ..... having many children is an asset as well as a form of security in the rural communities ..... they did not see the risk involved in sending their young daughters into early marriage or sending them away into urban centres to perform menial wage earning tasks.... they believe opportunities are limited to mainly land, economic trees and livestock farming. Even though education is one, the cost of educating a child today is prohibitive and that many households have no access to education. Ironically good governance, peace and tranquillity were not considered as opportunity” (Kunfaa, 1999: 23-25).

These prove the complex nature and the difficulties of identifying and understanding poverty by the rural people and academics as well. However it also suggests that consultation of the poor in poverty research is essential as it highlights the opinions of those whom poverty most affects.

### 3.3.3 Fighting for survival: Self-help culture of the rural poor

One of the important tools used by rural people to deal with poverty is horizontal philanthropy. Horizontal philanthropy, an indigenous type of philanthropy, is noted to be part of Ghanaian culture (Kyei, 2000). Typically it is self-help, cooperation and mutual aid (Table 3.2). The actors involved in these philanthropic transactions - giving and receiving - are mostly family, friends and neighbours (Wilkinson Maposa et al., 2005, Evertat et al., 2004, Carson, 2003). A survey amongst rural communities in

Adansi West District in Ghana found that the poor, who include the disabled, elderly, mentally disabled and widows who are without income, are looked after by their relatives and neighbours (Kyei 2000). The commodities provided by philanthropy are mostly food, money and clothes, and services including advice and emotional support (Wilkinson- Maposa et al, 2004, Kunfaa, 1999; Anshong and Smith, 2001). Work by Maclean (2010) in Bolivia demonstrates that such horizontal philanthropy enables the less fortunate to survive extreme poverty. However, it does not usually lead to the generation of capital, essential for creating opportunities which lead to improvement in the quality of people's lives and to socio-economic development (Kyei, 2000).

The concept surrounding this indigenous philanthropy contradicts many of the assumptions of the conventional philanthropy literature, which 'locate the act of giving primarily in the domain of the wealthy and the powerful' (Everrat et al., 2005:2). Wilkinson-Maposa et al, (2004:6) also argue that 'the poor can also pool resources and respond to crises together ....they are both givers and receivers'. Though the resources generated are not much, they are sufficient to promote notable changes in livelihood patterns. The traditional assumption in conventional philanthropy is that it is a voluntary act which is triggered largely by only altruism and generosity (Everrat et al, 2005). It is also argued here that this kind of philanthropy is not necessarily a free choice, but a moral duty that asserts social status or avoids social sanctions (Wilkinson Maposa et al, 2005). For example, the community sees a person who refuses or fails to help as antisocial and immoral and they in turn avoid and exclude him or her.

**Table 3.2 Types and characteristics of help in rural communities**

<b>Help principles</b>	<b>Characteristics</b>	<b>Transaction examples</b>
Donation	No expected return or payment	Time Care Child rearing of orphans Assets
Subsidy	Forego or reduce normal expected return or payment	Discount Fee waiver
Fee for service	Nominal payment as token of appreciation	Odd jobs for pay Food for work
Loan	Repayment required later on, based on use for a period	Extending credit Animals for draught power Land
Share	Reallocate use of private asset or goods, based on joint use	Ideas Knowledge Wisdom Skills Clothing Food
Redistribution	Reallocate group or public asset	Chief's granary Welfare
Co-operation	Collaborate for mutual gain	Labour on farm land Labour for building and repair works Revolving funds Annual pooling
Intervention	Intercede on some one's behalf	Prayer Conflict mediation

**Source : Wilkinson Maposa et al (2005)**

### **3.4 Traditional authorities, chieftaincy and rural development**

#### **3.4.1 Traditional authority and leadership**

‘Tradition’ is a word that refers to something that has its roots in the past. Traditional authority therefore refers to a structure that is based on the past. Usually the past means the pre-colonial era (Lutz and Linder, 2004). There are other words that are used to describe traditional authorities - informal and indigenous. Indigenous, according to the International Labour Organization (ILO) convention 169, means ‘having descendants who had lived in an area together before colonization and still maintains the social, economic and political institutions since the colonial and postcolonial eras’ (ILO 1989).



Traditional leaders are therefore those who are selected through certain procedures (usually hierarchy) to execute power through the traditional institution (Lutz and Linder, 2004).

### **3.4.2 Chieftaincy: structure and culture**

Traditional institutional systems in Ghana stand on three legs. Diawuoh Amankano (2005) noted these as behavioural norms, goal orientations and social norms. The behavioural norms are systems of authority and roles that legitimize clusters of family, chieftaincy hierarchies and structures from which authority is derived and exercised. Goal orientations are the expectations built into the system by which individuals view their future and direct their activities towards achieving them, while social norms are rules regarding rewards, sanctions, festivals, rituals and sacrifices. These three norms are regulated by proverbial laws which are interpreted by elders as part of a living code of behaviour. These sayings often stem from history and are associated with good and bad lessons learnt from the past and passed orally from generation to generation. Various kinds of traditional systems in Ghana can be identified (Table 3.3).

The Akan traditional system which comprises the Ashantis, Brongs, Fantes, Okwahus and Akuapims is the most populated and therefore dominant. They have powerful traditional systems which stem from their precolonial roots. The sources of power that legitimize the leaders to rule stem from rights of conquest, landholding, hierarchy or membership of a particular family and clan (Diawuoh Amankano, 2005). Hence their kingships or chieftaincies are military in nature. The administrative set-up of the Akan chieftaincy system (in table 6.2) explains the extent to which 'defence' was its primary priority. Amongst the Akan people, traditional systems are centralised but the level of centralisation or concentration varies from place to place, especially, the institution of accountability (Busia, 1968).

**Table 3.3 Traditional state authorities in Ghana.**

<b>Traditional District</b>	<b>Traditional States</b>	<b>Geographical Region</b>
Adansi	Akan State	Ashanti Region
Akuapem	Akan State	Eastern Region
Akuapem Anafo	Akan State	Eastern Region
Akuapem Guan	Akan State	Eastern Region
Akuapem Okere	Akan State	Eastern Region
Akyem Abuakwa	Akan State	Eastern Region
Akyem Bosome	Akan State	Eastern Region
Akyem Kotoku	Akan State	Eastern Region
Asante	Akan State	Ashanti Region
Assin Apenem	Akan State	Central Region
Assin Atandanso	Akan State	Central Region
Akwamu and Twifo-Heman	Akan State	Central Region
Bono Denkyira	Akan State	Central Region
Juaben	Akan State	Eastern Region
Fante (Fante Confederation)	Akan State	Central Region
Gyaaman	Akan State	Brong/Ahafo Region
Manya Krobo	Akan State	Eastern Region
Anlo	Ewe State	Volta Region
Peki	Ewe State	Volta Region
Ga	Ga State	Greater Accra Region
Dagomba	Northern State	Northern Region
Gonja	Northern State	Northern Region
Mamprusi	Northern State	Northern Region
Nanumba	Northern State	Northern Region
Wa	Wa State	Upper East Region
Sissala	Sissala State	Upper West Region

**Sources: Ghanadistrict.com**

Some of the traditional states are federated with paramount chiefs who pay allegiance to the chief of the state (Crooks 2005). This system replicates down to the grassroots levels, to village chiefs and elders (Lutz and Linder, 2004). Misbehaving chiefs can be removed or destooled<sup>4</sup> despite being entitled to their stool by their royal matriline or patriline (Diawuoh Amankano, 2005), for offences ranging from breaking their oath of office to despotism (Crooks, 2005; ECA, 2007). At the grassroot level, the power of the Akan chiefs can be weakened because their subjects can shift their allegiance to a rival chief (ECA, 2007).

### 3.4.3 Chieftaincy in the chronology of governance in Ghana

The system of governance in Ghana has undergone changes as a result of European imperialism, colonialism and the expansion of capitalism (Grischow, 2008; Ray, 2003; Rathbone, 2000; Owusu-Sarpong, 2003). Historians have divided the period of governance into three; the pre-colonial, colonial and the post-colonial periods.

Ghana had many traditional states, the sovereignties of which were based on conquest and assimilation of weaker tribes (Crook, 2005; Ray, 2003). For example the Ashanti state was very powerful to conquer and take over the Akwamu state in the eighteenth century. That period is classified as the pre-colonial period. The political system was indigenous and based on history. Colonization began after the Europeans started building forts and castles, mainly for the trade of slaves and other commodities e.g. gold, ivory and species, along the coast of the Gold Coast, which is now Southern Ghana. Elimina and Cape Coast castles were owned by the Portuguese in 1482 and 1555 respectively; to protect their gold trade interests. Later, it became a point for slave trading. From the fifteenth to the nineteenth century about eighty forts and castles had been built along the coast of the country. After years of trading, all these forts and castles were by the British; before the Gold Coast officially became a British colony in 1885.

The colonial period was started by the British Empire. They claimed their legitimacy through diplomatic trickery, conquest and an assertion of culture and racial superiority

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<sup>4</sup> 'Stool' is referred to the throne of the kingdoms in the south because chiefs sit on stools at functions and ceremonies. However, the thrones in the north are referred to 'skin' because the chiefs sit on leopard skins.

over the indigenous people (Ray, 2003; Owusu-Sarpong, 2003). They used force to create and process the pre-colonial states into colonies. They ruled by a state constitutional law based on that of the British Empire, adopting indirect rule and turning political leadership into an instrument for colonial rule. They also changed titles of 'Kings' into 'chiefs' to suit their rule of colonial leadership, although they could not change the titles in Ghanaian languages; eg Nana, Togbe, Na, Nii etc. (Ray, 1995).

The British Empire had already been in a struggle for power with some of the traditional states. Notable incidents included the war that ended with Sir Charles McCarthy beheaded by the Ashantis in 1824, and the other that burnt down Kumasi, capital of the Ashanti Kingdom in 1874 (Arhin, 1998).

Under indirect rule the colony made the laws stating that the native rulers [the chiefs] could issue their own instructions to their subordinates and the British colonial lords would only advise on matters relating to policies relating to colonial interests. This made it possible for them to fuse the traditional states and the colonial government in a new form of governance. The traditional authorities were given administrative power over the territories they ruled and were paid a salary from a portion of the taxes and levies they collect from their subjects for the colonial government.

An example of the divide and rule strategies adopted by the colonial government was Sir Guggisberg's 1925 formation of a legislative council with the chiefs, sidelining the Western-educated Ghanaians at that time. This created tension between the educated class and the traditional authorities. The traditional chiefs felt that the educated class is only interested in gaining power, while the educated class felt that the traditional chiefs were agents of colonial abusers (Bouton, 2004).

The transition from colonial period was a peaceful handover of power to a post-colonial state in 1956. The first post-colonial leadership claimed legitimacy from their ability to secure independence through nationalism and democratic process where the will of the people was expressed through voting (Ray, 2003). The traditional institution therefore survived the period of colonialism. The postcolonial state, however, also subjected them to persecution. It must be explained that towards the end of colonial rule and the beginning of the post-colonial period the institution of chieftaincy suffered from a state of uncertainty. The British colony changed from indirect to direct rule through the Government Ordinance of 1951 (Bouton, 2004). The powers of the chiefs were restricted to dealing with customary matters and playing an advisory role, and they were banned from politics despite their loyalty to the colony. Kwame Nkrumah, the first president of the post-colonial state, continued with this restriction and went further,

determining the appointment of traditional council members and when they would meet and appointing auditors to check their accounts regularly (Bouton, 2004; Arhin, 2001). This was emphasized in his Chiefs Bill on 19 February 1959.

Kwame Nkrumah distrusted the chiefs because they had not supported his 'Positive Action' doctrine meant to force the British colony to hand over power to Ghanaians. This antipathy is evident from the warning Nkrumah gave to the chiefs during the colonial era which was published in the *Accra Evening News*, 5 January 1950:

“Those of our chiefs who are with us ..... we do honour..... those who join forces with the imperialist.... There shall be a time when they will run and leave behind their sandals; in other words chiefs in league with the imperialist who obstruct our path ... will one day run away and leave their stools” (cited in Arhin, 2001:31).

In Ghanaian cultures, across all tribes, a bare footed chief means one who has been overthrown. It is taboo; and if a community wants to remove a chief, they just have to remove one of his sandals. According to Rathbone (2000), Nkrumah and his regime were uncompromising to the chiefs that most of them had to join their party (the Convention People's Party) to gain favour. Postcolonial states, from the first to the fifth republic, which are sandwiched by various military regimes, were often reluctant to recognise the chiefs as holders of sovereignty because they saw them as representative of alternative governors and competitors for legitimacy from the people (Ray, 2003). The various regimes have influenced the forms and structure of chieftaincy institutions with destoolments and enstoolments (Knierzinger 2009). For example, the National Liberation Council, the military regime that overthrew Kwame Nkrumah, destooled more than one hundred chiefs who joined Nkrumah's party and enstooled the deposed chiefs who were in opposition to Nkrumah (Nugent 1996). In the Provisional National Defence Council regime, the revolution, headed by Flight Lieutenant Jerry John Rawlings, encouraged the youth who had embraced the revolution to revolt against the institution (Harding 2001).

However, despite all the challenges that have been thrown at the chieftaincy institution, it retains the legitimacy it has held since the pre-colonial period to a significant extent: as representative of its people history, culture, values, religion and sovereignty (Grischow 2008; Ray, 2003).

#### 3.4.4 Decentralization and local governance

In 1988, the country adopted a decentralisation system whereby the power of the old Local Authority system of administration was turned into one involving District Assemblies. This enabled local communities to achieve local governance (Asibuo 2007). For the first step of decentralisation by national government, 110 district assemblies were established in the ten regions to replace the existing local authorities under the Local Government Law Act 462 of 1992 Fourth Republic Constitution. This Act therefore aims to transfer power and functions of governance from the central government to the district assemblies. At the grassroots level the district assemblies are structured so as to ensure fair representation of all communities in the districts. The Law requires a district assembly to consist of;

- a district chief executive
- A representative (known as assembly men and women) from each electoral area within the district
- The members of parliament from the constituencies within the district assembly
- Less than 30% of total membership of the assembly appointed from the public by the president (government appointees) in consultation with interested groups in the district.

These steps are intended to ensure that the assembly comprises knowledgeable and capable people who can represent and maintain the interests of the local communities or the poor. District assemblies therefore hold legislative and executive functions that will provide political and administrative support that will bring equitable power and wealth in all the geographical areas (GOG 1992). They do this in addition to planning for all the activities and liaison between the assembly and the ten regional administrations. At the community level, Unit committees work under the district assemblies. Their duties include protecting the communities against lawlessness and maintaining public order, especially in remote communities where there are no police posts. They also help to mobilise local resources and deal with the communities' environmental and public health issues such as refuse and sewage disposal, drain maintenance and anything else considered a public nuisance. My interview with some unit committee members and two local assembly members confirmed that the most important benefit of decentralisation is that it promotes the well-being of rural communities.

### 3.4.5 The empowerment of traditional authorities

The introduction of democracy in the current republic and the introduction of grass root participation, enforced by the World Bank, have loosened the restrictions on traditional institutions. Even the World Bank has recognised the chieftaincy institution in the sense that they have given aid packages to some of the powerful Chiefs, such as Asantehene (Otumfuo Osei Tutu) and Okyehene (Nana Ofori Attah) for the development of their traditional states, Ashanti and Akyem respectively. The state, a Western form of governance, with its accompanying political and administrative structures, still dominates at the national and regional levels in Ghana (Kyei 2000; Aryeetey & Goldstein 1999). However, at the district and community levels the government administrators share the responsibility of governance with traditional authority, headed by the chiefs. Remote rural communities lack access to adequate infrastructure and state agencies for security, justice and health. In such a situation, the chiefs may need to assume a very central role as an interlocutor between donor and people, and are therefore vital strategic partners for development. This provides routes to stability, dispute resolution, peace-building, poverty alleviation and wealth generation (Grichow 2009; Odotei 2004). As a result rural communities, headed by their chiefs, are putting as great an effort as ever seen in Ghana into addressing the problems they face in their communities and their daily lives. The leaders' aim of advancing people's interests at the local level is clearly evident (Odotei 2004), especially since the introduction of the government decentralisation policy. This is because the idea of 'grassroots governance' has framed traditional authorities as the foundation for local development. Ray (2003) suggests that rural local governance must be based on pre-colonial institutions and practices which centre on the figure of the chief. This will be possible because their subjects have been attached to them through hard times, especially during the colonial and the early post- independence eras (Ashcroft et al 2007). Although the colonial powers delegitimized the chiefs by attaching them to the colonial state, their legitimate authority survived at the village level underneath the control of colonial and early postcolonial officials (McCaskie 2007; Odotei 2004; Arhin 2002). The chiefs thus remain close to the heart of the people, who accept their rulers as "custodians of the country's heritage and values" (Owusu-Sarpong 2003, 33–4, 51). For these reasons it has been argued that there are good reasons for grassroots development, to be based on the revival of legitimate, precolonial leaders whose authority was subverted but not eliminated by colonial rule (Ray 2003). Some of these chiefs are now powerful again

and are actively promoting their traditional roles as trustees of community development. Through them development could be achieved without disrupting the traditional community (Grishow 2008; Cowen and Shenton 1991).

#### 3.4.6 Chieftaincy and development

As discussed in previous sections, chieftaincy was initially regarded as an impediment to modernisation and nation building in the early post-independence era and state governments endeavoured to weaken the institution (Kyed and Buur, 2005). But recently there is renewed interest in the institution of chieftaincy from state governments, donor countries and international institutions (Ubink 2007). This recognition of the traditional authorities is also underlined by the inclusion of their agenda at international fora and organisations. A typical example is the World Bank's 'Promoting Partnership with Traditional Authority Project' in Ghana, which aims to strengthen the capabilities of the traditional governors (Ubink 2007; Asiedu et al 2009). In Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA), the postcolonial states tend still to emulate the Western style of governance. That mode of governing has nonetheless been practised in parallel with the traditional institutions to which a significant section of the rural population adheres (Ray 2003; Oomen 2002; Lutz and Linder 2004). Anthropologists suggest that the persistent crisis in the region - prevailing poverty, widespread ethnic, civil and religious conflicts and post electoral conflicts - are some of the marks of failure of state governance (Ubink 2004). These failures might be circumvented by the involvement by the traditional institutions, which can fill the gap created by weak state governments (Kyed and Buur 2005; Englebert 2002).

The allegiance of the rural population to traditional authorities is due to the fact that they provide some level of refuge and sense of belonging to their citizens. These represent security which state governance fails to offer to rural communities (ECA 2007). Harsh economic measures introduced in developing countries in the early 1990s increased the distance between states and the people (Ubink 2007). A typical example was Ghana's Structural Adjustment Program which led to cuts on government spending on many essential services (Kyei 2000). This meant that some people's allegiance switched to traditional institutions, legitimizing them in comparison to the state. 'Legitimacy of leadership is based on the extent on which the citizens believe it is legitimate, accept and follow the decisions made by authority' (Ray 2003:5). Although citizens might not accept or agree to every decision by the authority, they still accept



them as legitimate decision-makers (ibid, 3). This legitimacy gives the traditional authorities the power to regulate rural life, settle disputes and control access to land (Englebert 2002; Rathbone 2000; Ubink 2007). Other African authors believe that the recent popularity of traditional authorities is due to their ability to perform well in their functions of enforcing laws and settling disputes in their own courts, which make them easily accessible and cheaper (Lutz and Linder 2004; Boafo-Arthur 2003). The traditional authorities are also able to mobilize their subjects, due to their ethnic obligations to follow the leader, behind development initiatives, community education and awareness creation (Ubink 2007). Local governance, formed from traditional institutions, is therefore essential in the rural communities where the state government's presence is weak and its activities limited. They serve as the channel to articulate the needs and priorities of the people to the government and other agencies (Ubink 2007; Vaughan 2003; Englebert 2002).

In Ghana, every traditional state has its own beliefs, taboos and rituals which play roles in conserving natural resources (Scoones 2004; McCaskie 1999; Abayie-Boateng 1999; McLeod 1981). These practices are regulated by the traditional authorities who impose sanctions on non-conformers (Abeyie-Boateng 1999). Studies on Ghanaian traditional beliefs indicate that there are spiritual connections between the ancestors, the living and the generations to come. They explain that the "living" is only temporary taking care of, or renting, resources such as land, water, vegetation and animals (Mc Caskie 1995). Communities therefore have protection and prohibition laws to manage these resources, especially those designated as sacred and sanctuary (Afikorah-Danquah 1998; McCaskie 1995; Abbiw 1990). Others have the belief that there are spiritual connections with these resources that mean their misuse or mismanagement will bring woes, mishaps and evil to the individual, family or community responsible (Akyeampong and Obeng 1995; Abbiw 1990; Busia 1951). However the sustainability of these practices of resource conservation is being threatened because of the rapid changes or switch of beliefs in tradition (Sarfo- Mensa and Oduro 2007).

Traditional institutions also have no history of making policy on poverty relief. However, they have started taking this responsibility in the past two decades, as more educated chiefs are emerging. For example, the Asantehene and Akim Abuakwa see the need to deal with poverty relief. They have secured financial assistance from the World Bank to embark upon poverty relief projects (Grischow 2008).

### 3.4.7 Limitations of chieftaincy in governance

Previous sections have argued that African traditional authorities have potential roles to play in rural development. It has also been suggested that rural communities are more attached to the institution than to the state administration representative at the local level (Taabazuing 2011). Nonetheless, despite the strong link of chiefs with their people, some scholars believe that various limitations still weaken traditional governance (ECA 2007). It is suggested that chieftaincy lacks accountability, social inclusion and is unable to deal with local poverty (Ray 2003).

Kilson (1966), for example, suggested that the traditional institutions were corrupted by the colonial state and this was worsened by being clients of the despotic postcolonial eras. However not all of them had affiliations with the colonial and postcolonial administrations (Rathbone 2000). The same accusation of corruption can be used to describe the past and present post-colonial administrations, who claim modernity in their dealings. In Africa, corruption in administration is more prominent in state administrations than traditional administrations. From my own experiences in village and urban settings (born and bred in the rural and worked in the urban), traditional authorities are accountable to their subjects but their mode of accountability is informal. As discussed in the previous section, there is a spiritual belief and fear that chiefs are accountable to dead, living and the future generations. There are many cases where the cause of a chief's death is explained as the consequence of his transgression or of wrongful or irresponsible acts against the ancestors and spirits. Nana Ofori Atta I, Omanhene of Akim Abuakwa famously stated: "I conceive that land belongs to a vast family of which many are dead, few are living and countless members are unborn" (Alhassan 2006:530 cited by Taabazuing 2011:112) – which not only relates directly to traditional understandings about rights to land but also to a sense of spiritual obligations entirely missing from modern resource and asset management.

It should also be emphasized that the face of traditional institution is changing. Many contemporary traditional leaders are educated and some are graduates (Ubink 2008). They have administrative offices with clerks and information technology systems for land management and accounting (Odotei 2004). Some traditional authorities have (their own) legal advisors and consultants who advise them on their dealings with the central government. Many of the chiefs have no record or information of their dealings in administration. This implies a lack of transparency, but this is often due to their illiteracy rather than being a deliberate strategy of deception. Nevertheless, it means that

many traditional leaders are neither audited nor sanctioned. They enjoy this immunity due to the nature of their position (Ray 2003).

The traditional systems in Ghana, especially the Akans, follow hierarchical successions. The throne, after the death of a chief, is passed on to a male successor who belongs to a specific family or clan (Rathbone 2000). This makes the system socially and gender exclusive. Critics argue that the selection of leaderships being hereditary and not elected, and only available to men, as customs require, makes it non-democratic (ECA 2007). Potential leaders in the society who do not belong to the family or clan reserved for leadership, have no chance because they are not qualified and are excluded. This means potential human capital such as leadership qualities existing amongst commoners is not used to its full advantage. It is also conspicuous that women usually have no access to leadership in the traditional system. The only leadership position reserved for women in the Akan system is that of queen mother, which is also chosen from the chief's family- either the sister or the first wife of the chief. Although the queen mother has a role to play, the traditions and customs allow the male leaders to dominate in decision making (Diawuoh Amankano 2005). Social exclusiveness in the chieftaincy systems is suggested to be the cause of youth rebellion. ECA (2007) observed that there has always been a tension between the younger generation and the traditional authorities because youth tends to be open to changes. The older generation often always see the younger as disrespectful, immature and unfit to participate in making crucial decisions affecting the community. The youth are therefore sidelined because traditional customs do not give them the moral rights or power to challenge authority regarding its transparency and accountability. The cultural system of not selecting women as traditional leaders is based in the traditional perception that women are created to support men in their duties. This old notion adheres, despite the existence of a historical catalogue of effective, strong and heroic women who have led their people to success. In Ghanaian history, Nana Yaa Asantewaa, the Queen mother of Ejisu in the late nineteenth century, led the people of the Ashanti Confederation to fight against the colonial government who had captured the Chief of Ejisu and the Asantehene and exiled them to the Seychelles in 1900 (Agyeman-Duah 1999; Arhin 2000). In any case, the various criticisms of traditional governance need to be set against the point that this is not the only political realm failing to fully implement social inclusion and having overtones of corruption in Ghana. In terms of decision making, state governance shows a strong bias in favour of the wealthy, the educated and those of high socio-economic status (Ray 1996). Low status individuals are marginalized and in some cases

abandoned. Corruption has been cited as one of the biggest causes of socio-economic crisis in most postcolonial states in Africa (Englebert, 2000). Ubink's (2007) researched on people's perceptions of chieftaincy and found that their support for traditional authorities is not based on performance but on culture and identity. As a result, the support seems unconditional and the state cannot ignore it but needs to recognize and work with the institution.

#### 3.4.8 Chieftaincy: Prospects and possibilities in rural development

Section 3.4.5 noted that remote communities lack access to the government agencies that have a role to play in the development and wellbeing of every community. One way or another, the government cannot reach to these rural communities. It is the traditional authorities who are bringing developmental innovations to the communities. However, local and national governments do not fully recognise the role they play in the socio-economic- lives of the rural communities (Ray 2004).

As chiefs already perform some legislative functions, they need some formal and documented guidelines on how better to implement legislation. Although they have systems of making laws, their laws are not uniform between/across districts and regions. As lawmakers, the chiefs make law by consulting their elders whenever there is a social concern. Usually the laws of the traditional states govern the economic, social, religious and political life of the people (Guri 2006). In many traditional states, most land are stool lands<sup>5</sup> and the traditional authorities are the custodians. Community lawmakers and custodians of land and natural resources in Ghana, must be consulted by the government with respect to reforming traditional land ownership systems. This has been deemed necessary to prevent the land conflicts and litigation that have become widespread between families, communities and traditional states.

Chiefs also play a role in interpreting traditional laws and rules governing the economic, social and political life of the people. Most of the judgements they hand down are related to land and resource arbitrations between individuals, families and clans are legally binding according to the modern state system. They do not deal with criminal cases such as murder and armed robbery. However, civil cases, such as marriage misconducts and petty stealing from the farm, that are typically part of a rural life are dealt with by the chiefs and the elders. It can be argue that their judicial role in the rural communities is invaluable in that it ensures rapid justice.

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<sup>5</sup> Stool land is a land that belongs to the community but not a particular clan or family.

Chiefs, as they play executive roles within communities, are responsible for their daily functioning. They are the first to know about development and environmental issues that affect the community. Environmental problem such as bush fires, encroachment of forest and resource reserves and their abuses are dealt with by the chiefs and traditional authorities before the state government. They are closer to the natural resources that the people use than state executives, so their recognition and empowerment could provide an invaluable route to securing sustainable resource use.

Chiefs are perceived as the link between the people and the ancestors. Section 3.4.6 discussed how they are believed to be guarded by the ancestral spirits, putting them in a powerful position to evoke sanctions on community members, with the help of fetish priests. This role enables the chiefs to control social behaviour, enforce moral and cultural values and prevent the abuse or over-exploitation of natural resources. Typical examples are taboos on hunting in sacred forests, fishing on non- fishing days or farming on non- farming days. These are regarded as spiritual offences. The traditional authorities, headed by the chiefs, are therefore needed by the communities to maintain order.

After decentralisation it was expected that the traditional authorities and the local government executives would work hand in hand. However, local government systems often conflicted with traditional ones. Foucault noted that whenever there is a relationship between two parties, one will tend to gain domination over the other (Hall 2001). In such situations, modernity, represented by the formal structures of the local government, is superimposed on the traditional systems (Guri, 2006). Scholars suggest that the two are often in conflict. Typical examples are debates over who should call meetings on development in the community? Who should collect taxes and levies from community members towards development? Or taxes from the market on market days from traders?

The previous sections of this chapter have shown how historical relationships between the nation state and the traditional institutions have been characterised by mistrust. Section 3.4.3 describes how the state government rarely recognizes the relevance of chieftaincy to society, whilst the traditional institutions are often constrained from doing what they could offer what they are could do for society. The eleven regimes after independence sidelined and undermined the potential of the traditional institutions to promote many important social, economic, technological, environmental and political aspects of development.

In order to focus rural development, there is a need for traditional and statutory institutions to work together and complement each other. To bury their differences, the state government must recognize the indispensability of the traditional institution in promoting many aspects of development, peace and security. To ensure this, I feel representatives from the traditional states must be given automatic places in the local assemblies formed through decentralisation and grass roots participation. At the moment, the 1992 Constitution and the 1993 Local Government Act (462), do not provide for such positions. Hence traditional institutions are marginalized at local levels of statutory government. At the moment, few chiefs have been appointed as assembly members through the mandate of the president to appoint 30 percent of membership without votes.

The traditional authorities will “need to reform their colonial tendencies and take proactive posture to address the development need of their people rather than lording over them” (Guri 2006:7). This could further challenge the two institutions- state government and the traditional institutions - to come together through the following suggestions by Guri (2006):

- “Motivate traditional authorities to take self initiative to reform the colonial heritage of ‘power over their people’ and focus on leadership for the improvement of the lives of their people.
- change the negative perceptions and attitudes towards traditional authorities as partners in development.
- position traditional authorities to play a more central role in the district assembly systems.” (ibid:7).

It must be emphasized that though there is a gap between the two institutions, various organisations are making efforts to bridge it. The World Bank are providing the Learning and Innovation Loan (LIL) to the Ministry of Local Government, Environment and Rural Development, hoping to devise approaches that will enable the two institutions to come together to improve livelihoods in deprived rural communities.. The loan also aims to provide institutional support to the traditional authorities to strengthen, update and educate them so that they can lead rural communities in their efforts towards development.

Besides this, some non-government organisations are making efforts to strengthen the capacity of traditional leaders, so that they can play central roles in development issues

at local levels. An example is the Centre for Indigenous Knowledge and Organizational Development (CIKOD), who, in collaboration with the Centre for Development Studies at the University of Cape Coast, have been organizing workshops and conferences that engage the two institutions. The aims of this approach are to document and develop appropriate methodologies of working with the traditional authorities to promote development (CIKOD 2012).

As the majority of rural communities have some allegiance to the traditional institutions and some members from the urban communities still owe allegiance to them, they cannot be ignored or sidelined in terms of their potential contribution to rural development. Their potential ability to mobilize the people towards development must therefore be utilized.

### **3.5 Conclusion**

This chapter has discussed the livelihoods of rural communities and the importance of traditional leadership systems in developing their socio-economic life. Traditional institutions can offer the leadership roles that can assist the hunt for development, for example by rallying support and funding for development. This chapter has provided an essential background, detailing the potential importance of the traditional institution of chieftaincy within a rural village. It has also illustrated the interplay of that institution with the formal statutory one, finding that chiefs perform some functions the statutory system cannot, as well as vice versa. This guides us in understanding the next chapter; detailing the methodology and field work that took place at the three research villages, Konkonuru, Kpone Bawaleshie and Shia.

## **CHAPTER FOUR**

### **METHODOLOGY**

#### **4.1 Introduction**

This chapter is designed to discuss data collection, data analysis and interpretations that were carried out throughout the research process. The first part reflects upon my initial exploratory approach to find out the variables that might be involved in the development impacts of foreign philanthropists also known as development chiefs and queens. This was done to establish an appropriate and ethically sound research methodology for the field work. The second part discusses the field research processes, highlighting the approach and methods used. These include an explanatory approach needed for the understanding of the context of the study; deciding on the sources of data; and refining the study instruments to ensure that the research questions are addressed and the goals and objective are achieved.

The chapter also explains the procedures used in analysing the field data, the ethical issues and practical challenges of the research process, and how I came to terms with them.

#### **4.2 Research Rationale**

##### **4.2.1 The abandoned project**

The decision to choose this research topic emerged after the first chosen topic was abandoned. I had planned to research on the significance of the Millennium Village Project (MVP) for rural development in Ghana. This is a rural development pilot project designed by the Earth Institute at Columbia University and is supported by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and the Millennium Promise (a non-profit funding organisation).

Initial contacts and fieldwork arrangement were made with the project coordinator at Bonsaso, an MVP pilot site in Ghana, and the director of the Project at the Earth Institute at Columbia University, New York in 2008. Bonsaso is the Ghanaian pilot site which is among the 14 pilot sites selected from 10 countries from the Sub Sahara Africa. Unfortunately a few weeks before the start of fieldwork, sudden changes in the project's organization occurred and the new management team refused to allow my presence at the site for the fieldwork.



Having my interest in rural development in mind and looking for an original research topic, the concept of Development Philanthropy emerged as my choice to replace the abandoned MVP topic. This concept was becoming a very popular phenomenon in Ghana, but only the cultural aspect was being covered by the media and some academics. The decision to work on Development Philanthropy meant that my study would still relate to rural development. Also philanthropy was an important element of the MVP which also provided an element of continuity. The MVP is partially funded by the Millennium Promise Foundation - a non-profit organisation formed by private philanthropic donors to fund projects which aim to eradicate extreme poverty.

#### 4.2.2 Justification of research

This research thesis on the impact of ‘vertical philanthropy’ is justified for at least two reasons. First, in previous chapters it was argued that philanthropists as ‘development agents’, and their contributions to rural development, have not been extensively researched. In the literature review chapter it was argued that information on these new found ‘agents’ of rural development in Africa is still in its infancy. Reports and information on this area are mostly reports by media and are not critiqued.

Secondly, the specific concept of development chief/queen (a philanthropist practising development) is under-researched in the academic field. The idea that foreign philanthropists are appointed by locals to lead to an improvement in the quality of life of rural communities is a new development concept that has created a new research agenda. Hence this research will lead to the understanding of the political, academic and philanthropic contexts of their roles. It will also be useful for development practice, especially, in cross-checking development organisations’ goals and priorities, as well as their subjects.

### 4.3 Research Question and Objectives

The main objective of this study, as discussed in chapter one, is to investigate the impact of philanthropy by foreign chiefs and queens in Ghana. To achieve this, the objective is stated in terms of questions which the research study will aim to answer:

5. Why do rural people embrace this non-indigenous concept and how does their participation contribute to the success of the concept?
6. How do the indigenous leaders (chiefs and local elites) effectively play a role within the context of the traditional institutions?

7. What motivates the foreign philanthropists to hold chieftaincy positions in Ghana and what form of philanthropy do they offer?
8. What kind of development impact do they make to rural development in Ghana?

#### **4.4 Positionality**

My dual history of residency put me in a strong position to conduct this research effectively by looking through two lenses: that of the insider and that of the outsider. Having a Ghanaian background and rural experience gives me a considerable advantage in analysing matters as an insider. I was born and raised in Ghana and have had most of my education there. I have also experienced rural life and poverty as the son of a subsistence farmer. I also have an in-depth rural knowledge that puts me in a position to give some explanations of some rural settings, circumstances and the environment. Secondly, my 17-year stay in the United Kingdom puts me in a position to analyse and critique my research through an outsider's lens; I understand the views and perceptions of outsiders on development in West Africa.

#### **4.5 Case Study**

It became clear after the exploratory stage that the case study approach would be the most appropriate to investigate and answer the research questions.

Descombe explains a case study as:

“one (or just a few) instances of a particular phenomenon that is to be investigated with a view to providing an in-depth account of events, relationship, experiences or processes occurring in that particular instance” (Descombe 2008:35).

One reason for using the case study approach, rather than a strategy that covers a large number of instances, is that there may be insights with wider implication than could be gained from looking at the individual cases that would not be apparent from research covering more examples in less depth (Descombe 2010). This research is concerned with relationships and processes within social settings, where people, chiefs and philanthropists are connected and interrelated. Case studies offer more chances of going into sufficient detail to reveal the complexities of a given situation. Descombe highlighted that this situation will ‘offer the opportunity to explain why certain outcomes might happen more than just what those outcomes are’ (Descombe 2008: 36). Another reason for the choice of the case study approach is that the basis for this research was already there and did not need to be generated specifically for the purpose of the research. Yin (1994) describes this situation as a mutually occurring

phenomenon. One of the strengths of case study is that it allows flexibility for the researcher to use a variety of sources, types of data and research methods as part of the investigation. Descombe made a point concerning the flexibility of case studies by explaining that ‘the decision to use a case study approach is a strategic decision that relates to the scale and scope of an investigation, and it does not, at least in principle, dictate which method or methods must be used. Indeed, a strength of the case study approach is that it allows for the use of a variety of methods depending on the circumstances and the specific needs of the situation’ (Descombe 2008: 37).

Another advantage of using case studies is that the approach is theory-led where cases of events are processed within a setting. The approach can also explain how in real life settings a particular theory is applied. It can therefore be used for ‘theory testing’ and for ‘theory building’ (Descombe 2008; Yin 1994; Layder 1993). The approach also has a discovery-led side – key issues affecting the settings can be explored and compared. For example, how the interactions and issues on relationships between the philanthropists, chiefs and people can influence development success.

Critics of the case study approach focus on issues such as how the findings from one case can be used to generalize a phenomenon (Varkerisser et al 2003). Critics also argue that findings could be unique to the particular circumstances of a specific case and cannot be generated on the basis of research (Patton 2002). However, others argue in favour of the case study approach because even though there may be some uniqueness, this could also be considered as a single example of a broader class of things (Yin 1994; Hammersley 1992).

#### **4.6 Research Methodology**

The study considered the two main methodologies: qualitative and quantitative. It became clear that the study would require deep understanding of the perception and attitudes of the people, the traditional leaders and the philanthropists with regard to the development chief/queen concept. This made it more appropriate to consider a qualitative methodology, given the focus on attitudes.

Qualitative methodology is considered as an approach that seeks to understand phenomena of interest in great detail (Patton 2002). It involves a real world setting where the researcher aims to generate a new theory or hypothesis and to achieve a deep understanding of issues regarding the phenomenon of interest (Descombe 2010; Patton 2002). It must be noted that the strength of qualitative methodologies lies in their focus of understanding how subjects understand social realities and their exploration of

values, beliefs, attitudes, behaviour, emotions and perceptions (Flowerdew and Martins 2005; Cloke et al. 2004; Hoggart & Lees 2002; Maguire 1987).

Quantitative methodologies, on the other hand, can be defined as research methods that produce findings through statistical procedures or other means of quantification and prediction (Greene et al. 1989; Maguire, 1987). It was important that a quantitative survey be conducted at some stage in order to obtain some quantified explanatory data to strengthen the qualitative data.

Hence the two methodologies were used in triangulation to strengthen the findings in the analysis. Triangulation is the application and combination of two or more methodologies in a study of the same phenomenon, to facilitate validation of data through cross verification (Descombe 2010). Table 4.2 shows the qualitative and quantitative methodologies used and the respective samplings applied, for which detailed explanations can be found in the sections that follow in this chapter.

**Table 4.1 Research methodologies applied in the study**

<b>Research Tool</b>	<b>Methodology</b>	<b>Sampling Method Used</b>
Focus Group Meeting	Qualitative	Snowballing
Semi-structure interview	Qualitative	Purposive
Questionnaire survey	Quantitative	Random
Secondary Data	Qualitative	Purposive

## **4.7 Fieldwork**

### **4.7.1 Plan and timetable**

The plan and time table for the fieldwork were influenced by various factors. After having to abandon the first research topic after having spent some time working on it, there were some constraints on the time available for the extensive design of the new direction of the research, and the subsequent collection of data and analysis of results. Secondly, time constraints were also imposed by having to wait for new ethical clearance from the Research Ethic Committee for the new fieldwork to be undertaken in Ghana. Thirdly, funding for the field work trip to Ghana was being raised, as a non-sponsored student. Lastly, I needed to start to develop my understanding of the concept of development chief and queens and how it related to rural development. Therefore, it was found appropriate to start interviewing development philanthropists who were residing in the United Kingdom, in order to use this enforced waiting time as usefully as

possible. This initiative served as an exploratory approach. As part of the exploratory strategy, I was also able to contact a relative who lives at Ahafo Ano in Ghana, where there is a development chief. After the ethical clearance certificate was obtained and resources had been raised, I was able to interview the development philanthropists who were available.

My next step was the trip to Ghana. My exploratory approach continued in Ghana by first conducting focus group meetings with chiefs and the people in the three selected villages. This exploratory approach gave me direct experience and knowledge of the phenomenon and an insight into what might be happening in the field work. Three main variables were identified:

- Performance of philanthropist;
- Effectiveness of traditional leaders;
- Level of community participation.

These variables, together with the development impacts made and the motivations of the philanthropists were then considered as the basis upon which data for the research were to be collected. Table 4.1 gives details of how the fieldwork was approached, with a timetable.

**Table 4.2 Research Approach and Timetable.**

<b>Approach</b>	<b>Objective</b>
Introductory meetings with development philanthropists based in the UK ( April-August 2010); Contacts/discussions with relatives and friends in Ghana about the concept of development chiefs and queens (February-August 2010); Focus group meetings with chiefs and the people at the three selected villages (September-October 2010)	To explore the concept and to design the methodology.
Questionnaire survey with the people (October-November 2010)	To obtain a quantitative explanation of the relationships between variables
Semi –structured interviews with chiefs, people and two development chiefs and one queen (November-December 2010)  Second interviews with development chiefs and queens in the UK (January –May 2011)	To obtain deeper understanding and rich knowledge of the relationships between variables
Analysis of data (May-August 2011)	To assemble the collected data in order to develop meaningful explanations

#### 4.7.2 Fieldwork in the United Kingdom

This involved contacts with development chiefs/queens now in the UK. Non-probability (purposive) sampling was applied to select them. Non-probability sampling is one in which the selection of people is not made at random (Descombe 2010), while 'purposive sampling' is the 'hand picking' of respondents whom the researcher thinks are likely to produce the most valuable data that are relevant to the topic under investigation (Descombe 2010, Maguire 1987). This is primarily applied when there is a limited number of people who have information relevant to the topic of the research.

The usefulness of purposive sampling is that it allows the researcher to contact only those people whom he/she believes will be critical to the research and to concentrate on them. This decision was made because there was not a sufficient number of development chiefs and queen available in UK to choose from and therefore it was not feasible to obtain a large number for the study.

Research on the internet gave me access to the contact addresses of some development chiefs and queens in the UK. After selecting those whose addresses were available, I made the first contact with them by introductory letter supported by my supervisor and using a King's College London letterhead. Follow-up communications were made through e-mails and telephone calls. Five out of the seven development chiefs and queens responded favourably. I requested face-to-face interviews with them. Face-to-face interviews were considered first in order to ensure a detailed, rich and immediate means of establishing efficiency and validation in the data collection (Denscombe, 2010). Two of them offered to visit our department for the interview, while the other three were visited in their own homes across England. The first face-to-face interview was on 14 May 2010 with Humphrey Barclay. The interviews were guided by an open-ended semi-structured questionnaire. Open-ended questions were considered suitable for the nature of this study. It gave some flexibility that would allow me to speak more widely and to develop ideas for the fieldwork ahead. The issues discussed were: how they first made contact with the rural communities, why they accepted their positions as leaders for development in a foreign country, the challenges in holding that post, what they have achieved so far and their future plans for the communities. After the interviews, frequent communication was maintained with all of them. This enabled me to receive frequent and current updates of development in their communities, especially when they returned from travels to their respective communities in Ghana. Transcripts of the communication, especially through e-mails, and the reports are included in the

secondary data which is essential to analysis of the study (Flowerdew and Martins 2005; Patton 2002; Maguire 1987). In February 2011, after fieldwork in Ghana, second interviews were conducted with the development chiefs/queens in the UK via e-mail. This one involved an in-depth semi-structured questionnaire which was sent to them. All of them responded without significant delay. The second questionnaire was considered essential and was developed after the experience and observations obtained from the fieldwork in Ghana - after I had met the people and traditional leaders. Table 4.3 gives brief details of the contacts with development chief/queens in the UK.

**Table 4.3 Fieldwork in the United Kingdom**

<b>Philanthropist</b>	<b>Village in Ghana</b>	<b>Interviews, visits and communications</b>
John Lawler	Shia (Volta region)	Visited KCL for interview. Two questionnaire interviews. Met him at his village in Ghana during second stage fieldwork. Eleven telephone discussions. Nine e-mail communications
Lynne Symonds	Mamprusi (Northern )	One home visit. Two questionnaire interviews, Six telephone discussions, Eight e-mail communications. One report on travel and project in Ghana.
Humphrey Barclay	Okwahu Tafo (Eastern)	Visited KCL for interview. Two questionnaire interviews. Three telephone discussions. Three e-mail communications.
Jane Goldsmith	Akoasi (Central )	Two visits at home. Two questionnaire interviews. Four communications via e-mails.
Kathryn Prosser	Edwa ( Central)	Two questionnaire interviews.
James Knapp		Did not respond
Bob Geldof	Besease (Central)	Replied to introductory letter but could not participate due to high volume of scheduled commitments.





**Map 4.1 Map of Ghana showing the locations of the research communities.**

**Source:** Ghanadistrict.com

### 4.7.3 Fieldwork in Ghana

#### 4.7.3.1 *Preparation*

Before I departed for the research fieldwork, preliminary preparations were undertaken to ensure that the work would proceed successfully. I had designed the draft questionnaires and guides for the semi-structured interviews, questionnaire surveys, as well as the essential questions for the focus group discussions. I developed a work plan and a timetable of how to proceed with the research. I also made arrangements for recruiting two assistants. Before finally moving into the field, I ensured that instruments (sound recorder and camera) and other interviewing materials and logistics for the field work were ready. Thus having completed the necessary preparations, I went to Ghana in October 2010.

#### 4.7.3.2 *Recruitment of Assistants*

The research team consisted of myself, as the principal researcher, and two assistants (RAs). One, a teacher and a part-time MA student at the University of Ghana, was recruited to facilitate the process of data collection and the other, an electrical technician and rural development enthusiast, was recruited for taking photographs, voice recording and interpretation of local languages. I spent two days with the assistants in Accra to brief and explain what the research was about, its aims, and the timetable of my field work in Ghana.

#### 4.7.3.3 *Selecting the research communities*

Searches in Ghanaian newspaper archives from Ghana National Archives, and the internet helped me to identify 31 development philanthropists and their villages in Ghana from which to make a selection of the villages for the fieldwork. Sampling only from the villages where the philanthropists interviewed in UK were installed as development chiefs or queens was not appropriate as they did not necessarily fulfil the criteria with which I had to work which combined logistical constraints with academic criteria.

Many factors were considered in the selection of the villages. The first decision to make was on how many villages I could cover, considering my time and resource constraints. This helped me to decide on choosing three villages which were not too far apart (at most 100km, see Map 4.2). I also considered the possibility and practicality of gaining

access to necessary and sufficient data for analysis. In regard to this I took into account ethnicity, choosing villages with ethnic groups which had embraced the concept but also those where I knew I would be able to deal with the languages and would also identify easily with the culture thereby greatly enhancing the depth of understanding I would acquire from my interviews. Furthermore there is an ethnic geography to the way in which the concept was developed and subsequently spread which influenced village choice. Originally it began in Akan villages, but later it spread to other parts of the southern region of Ghana, and has become particularly popular in Volta Region, which is of Ewe ethnicity. I also took into account the size of the village population, choosing reasonably large villages from which a sample could be drawn from which it was reasonable to make generalizations on the basis of data collected. For example, very small villages are often somewhat typically homogeneous, or are too influenced by highly localised and unreplicable factors. With all these factors considered purposive sampling was preferred in selecting the research villages to ensure an appropriate sample (Patton, 2002). First of all, the southern part of Ghana was chosen for the fieldwork because it is in this region in particular where the concept of development chiefs and queens has been embraced, and they are numerous (Bob-Milliar, 2009). Second, communities from Greater Accra, Eastern and Volta regions were chosen because they are noted for their keen involvement in chieftaincy politics. These regions are near to each other and have a lot in common considering their culture and values.

Three villages, Kpone Balewashie, Konkonuru and Shia, were then selected from the Greater Accra, Eastern and Volta regions respectively, because they have specific characteristics relevant to this research. The basic requirement for selecting a research community was therefore that the community would have a relatively significant sample population (of at least 1,000 people) and diverse means of livelihood. The villages were also known, from Ghanaian newspaper reports, to have established development chiefs and queens with different and interesting backgrounds.

Kpone Balewashie, in Greater Accra region, had an American philanthropist, Lindsey Kaufman who was installed in 2001 and established a five-year development plan with the people. It was worth selecting this village because there has been enough time since then for the concept to have been in action and to have had some effects, whether positive or negative, to enable sufficient data collection. It is from this village that the clip of the GNA report on the inauguration of this concept in the introductory chapter of

this thesis is drawn. The village has a population of 1,078 (2000 population census). Some people work as mango farmers. However a significant proportion of the population works as labourers and traders who commute daily to Accra, the capital city, for their primary livelihood. The village is about 12 kilometres from Accra.

Konkonuru in the Eastern Region has two philanthropists, Rita Marley, a Jamaican musician and widow of the late Bob Marley, and Mr Samir Kalamir, also known as 'Papaye', a Lebanese, the owner of a popular chain of restaurants in Ghana. There had been newspaper reports of their joint commitment to the development of this village. This village was chosen as it fulfilled the criteria outlined above but also because, having two development philanthropists, it was thought it might provide some extra insights into the working of the concept. It might produce rich information on multiple sources of philanthropy. In addition, this was an Akan village and since this ethnic group pioneered the concept of installing foreign development chiefs and queens it seemed important to include such a village. This village had had its development chief and queen for at least eleven years. Konkonuru has a population of 1,045 (2000 population census). Citrus farming is the major source of livelihood there.

Lastly, Shia in the Volta Region, has John Lawler, a British citizen, who runs a worldwide gap year organisation called MADVENTURE. This was the only case in which the village chosen had a development chief who had already been interviewed in the UK. In this case the village fulfilled various other criteria. Though the concept of development philanthropy was started by the Ashantis (Akans), it is more widespread in Volta Region (Ewe) than any other region and so it was decided to include a village from this area. In addition, Lawler is one of the foreign chiefs who had received impressive headlines in Ghana and in the British media about his work in Shia. His wife is the development queen. This village has a population of 1,148 (2000 population census), most of whom are farmers of cocoa and other cash crops.

#### *8.7.3.4 Contacts and Interaction with communities*

To be able to conduct a study of this kind in a rural community in Ghana, one needs the approval of the highest chief. This is because of the authoritarian powers of traditional chiefs in Ghana. They play a predominant role in community affairs and give approval, refusal or sanction on community matters, particularly on rural development. They were also important respondents in this study. Obtaining permission from the chiefs was a

pre-requisite for us to conduct research in their villages. As a result, it was important for us to have introductory meetings with the chiefs and elders of the villages and obtain their permission to undertake the research in their communities.

Our introductory meetings with the chiefs and elders in the three villages were friendly. Initially our discussion centered on current home and international affairs. This put everybody at ease before we discussed the importance of my research. They also confirmed and briefed us on how they met, decided on and installed their development philanthropists and chiefs and queens. The chiefs and elders of all the villages wanted to know whether the research would yield some development benefits for the villages. As a researcher, it was important for me to be honest about my ability or inability to meet these demands. I explained that I was a student and was doing the research for my PhD dissertation, and informed them honestly that I was not in a position to offer them any development benefits. The customary civilities were performed by presenting two bottles of imported spirit and wine and one bottle of local gin. After receiving the approval of the chiefs and elders of the three villages, we lived among them, in order to immerse ourselves in the life of the villages. Our second step was to gain the trust of the community members in order to undertake our research. In all the villages we acquainted ourselves with at least one influential member who lived in the village, and could serve as our initial contact, and he in turn introduced us to other influential members of the community who might be helpful to our cause.

The first village that we visited was Kpone Balaweshie. The visit was set up - with help from a friend who had contacts there. We met in Accra, when I arrived in Ghana, to arrange for our entry date. That made our entry into the village very smooth. At Konkonuru, with a population of 1,045, we went to the village without any outside contact. We entered the village with our imported wines and spirits as required to get the attention of the chief. Significantly, our strategy worked. Shia is a village of 1,924 people. We had been introduced to a man, Justus Avidzivu who is also a 'gatekeeper' to this village, by Mr John Lawler, their development chief who resides in Newcastle, UK. He in turn introduced us to the chief. It was helpful that Mr John Lawler came down to meet us there for the 'Nordu' festival at Shia. 'Nordu' festival is an occasion where the citizens from the surrounding communities meet at one place and discuss social and development issues, every two years. According to an elderly woman, singles (bachelors and spinsters) also take the opportunity to find partners. It is also attended by citizens who have migrated to different part of the country. At the time of this project it

was Shia's turn to host the festival. In recognition and appreciation of the time and effort that the research participants put into answering our long questionnaire and participating in the in-depth interviews, we gave each participant one bar of soap after every interview. We also provided participants with refreshments during the focus group discussions.

## **4.8 Research tools and Survey**

### **4.8.1 Focus Group Discussions (FGDs)**

Focus group discussions were my first fieldwork approach. They were used as an exploratory approach to collect information on the general consensus of the communities about the concept of making a foreigner a development chief/ queen and also to find out the variables or factors that influence their success and their relationship with the people.

Snowball sampling was used to select the participants. According to Patton (2002), the term 'snowballing' is the use of one contact to help to recruit another contact appropriate to the research. The ease of finding research subjects through snowballing can be a major advantage, though one does have to be aware of the possibility of bias in collecting data from such a sample unit. One can argue that in some instances bias in sampling can be very valuable, especially in qualitative research. Maguire (1987) argues that common characteristics of subjects within a biased sample can enable detailed investigation into a particular area of research, and as a consequence, snowballing was a suitable choice of procedure for the focus group meetings. Among the respondents included in the sample units were chiefs and elders, farmers, craftsmen, traders and students.

Meetings were organized in each of the three villages. This enabled me to focus the research objectives in my preceding interviews and also to complement data from other qualitative and quantitative methods. The focus group discussions were conducted using a structured, guided topic basis for discussions that will help in the gathering of data, as suggested by Patton (2002). The meetings were more than conversation as participants stimulate each other in the exchange of ideas and obtain consensus views around the research topic. This kind of interaction may not emerge from individual interviews or surveys

The complexity of responses that emerged from the group meetings were later used in triangulation (that is supplementing or complementing other methods that are looking at the topic through a different lens). Even though focus group discussions could be used

on their own as a research methodology, in this study they were used to amplify data from other methods – to reinforce the advantages and strengths of each method, while minimizing their disadvantages and weaknesses.

We organized the focus group discussions in the three villages on Saturdays, over a three-week period. A range of 9 to 13 participants were selected for a meeting, as suggested by research authors, to allow a higher level of interactive participation (Denscombe 2010; Patton 2002; Maguire 1987). In each village we conducted two focus group meetings – meetings for chiefs and elders, and the other for members of the communities. In each session we introduced the participants and explained the purpose of the meetings, encouraged discussion, encouraged involvement, and I did my best to remain neutral to responses in order to avoid being placed in the role of an expert. Controlling the rhythm of the meetings was very important to us but we did not do it in an obstructive way. During the discussions at every village, I checked the accuracy of my understanding of statements and opinions by repeating what the participant had said. In this way, I was able to clear up issues of English-local language interpretations, and it also enabled the participants to add further elaborations to their initial thoughts. This process created trust between the participants and me, as they realized that I was committed to understanding and conveying the accurate meanings of their words.

At the end of every meeting I took time to summarize, check for agreement and thank the participants. At the end of every meeting day, we wrote a report from our records (making use of the tape recorder), with items including date, place, names and characteristics of participants, level of participation, level of interest and the presence of dominant participants. Important attention was given to participants' opinions where we tried as far as possible to record their own words; especially in key statements, any reluctance and feelings attached to certain opinions and vocabulary they used. It is worth mentioning that there were some general observations and challenges, which we had expected. The culture of male domination and the opinion of women were not discussed. That is very usual in Southern Ghana, especially in the rural communities. We made sure that close attention was given to them when making contributions and their views are sought on every topic discussed. Dominant participants were also given their fair chances as some made useful contributions, but not at the expense of the quieter participants. However, some young participants at Balewashie took advantage of this meeting to express their anger at the behaviour of their leaders towards their development queen, which has caused a rift between them and the development queen. We asked for their patience to make sure that matters did not get out of control. At

Konkonuru, the two meetings went on smoothly. However, a youth approached us after the meeting saying that he would grant us an interview, provided it took place outside the village. We arranged to meet him in Accra, for a semi-structured interview, after he had told us that he goes there twice a week to trade. This implied a social climate that could be problematic for our ability to obtain honest and full answers in the village. Another issue that emerged from the focus group discussions in Konkonuru and Shia, was the power difference between the people and the traditional authorities. The topic of marginalization in decision making relating to the work of the development chief/queen kept coming up. I took the opportunity to explore the level of consensus on this issue. The table 4.4 below shows the number of participants in the focus group meetings.

**Table 4.4 Number of focus group participants.**

<b>Groups</b>	<b>Kpone Balewashie</b>	<b>Konkonuru</b>	<b>Shia</b>
Chief/elders	8	11	7
Community	12	12	12

**Source: Survey (2010)**

The focus group discussions therefore enabled me to obtain a lot of information in a short period of time and also within a group context. Importantly, I was able to determine the variables/factors that influence the success of this concept. One is the availability of funds for projects which will depend on the philanthropist or the development chief/queen. The second was the effectiveness of the traditional leadership, especially in their administration and relationship with the philanthropist and the people. The third was the level of participation of the people. What the people were expecting from philanthropists was also known from the focus meetings. Significantly, it was realized that nine of these expectation were on the top lists of the three villages. These findings enabled me to set up the research question and design the questionnaire survey that would give the answers.

#### 4.8.2 Questionnaire Survey

The questionnaire survey is the second component of the fieldwork in the villages. Unfortunately, we were urged to discontinue our fieldwork at Kpone Balewashie by the chiefs and elders. They expressed concern that our interviews on the issue of development were politically sensitive and might stimulate youth revolts. They had heard how some youths expressed their anger about the chief-philanthropist relationship



in the village. We therefore concentrated the rest of our work in Konkonuru and Shia. Losing Kpone Balewashie somewhat weakened the research, but information from two villages seemed sufficient for the purposes of the research.

The households in the selected communities were used as sample units. The first to tackle was the determination of the size of the samples which was not easy to do, as sample size must be adequate to give results that are statistically significant (Denscombe 2010). However, the sample size should neither be over-sized nor under-sized and a balanced size is recommended so that the result will not be significantly affected and that there is no waste of economic and time resources (Descombe 2010; Flowerdew and Martin 2005).

It is suggested that the determination of sample size will depend on the nature of the population, with regard to the extent of variation, purpose of the study and the degree of accuracy or representation the research requires (Denscombe 2010; Patton 2002; Yin 1994). To achieve a highly representative sample, there are various methods and formulae that could be used. There are a growing number of software and online calculators for sample-size determination that are being used for social, market, political and medical research over the past three decades.

This study used a software calculator, Creative Research System, 1982 edition to determine the sample sizes of the two villages. This required the researcher to decide on the desired confidence level and confidence interval. In this study a 95% confidence level and a 6.5% confidence interval were chosen following conventional values for a small research study (Descombe 2010). The sample sizes from the two villages are given below in Table 4.5.

**Table 4.5 Sample sizes in the survey**

<b>Villages</b>	<b>Population (2000census)</b>	<b>Sample size</b>	<b>Completed form</b>	<b>Response rate</b>
Konkonuru	1,045	136	118	87%
Shia	1,924	159	144	91%

**Source: Survey (2010)**

It was not possible to obtain the official up to date population list from the villages for the sampling frame. Therefore lists of households, which were easily obtained from the chiefs' palaces, were used as the sampling frames. The sampling was designed in two stages. A simple sampling method was used to select the households in the first stage. We wrote the house numbers on pieces of paper of equal size, and then folded and shuffled them before selecting the number of households where we intended to hold an

interview. The same sampling method was repeated to select the individual respondent, from details of household adults (over-15). Simple sampling is useful because it is very effective in generating a representative sample size which gives a greater precision in the survey and a generalized conclusion about the populations (Khan 2006).

The questionnaire survey consisted of 53 questions. The aim was to find out information about the people's perceptions of their foreign development chiefs and queens, their expectations and degree of satisfactions. Though it was time-consuming, we were committed to finding out what interaction they have with their development chiefs and queens, their chief and elders and how much they participate in local development projects. The aims and objective of these questions were to assess (in their opinion) the responsiveness of development chiefs and queens, the effectiveness of chiefs and elders, the level of participation of the people and the development impact on the communities. We respected the respondents as the 'experts' on their own lives and views, as suggested by Maguire (1987). It must be emphasized that a high response rate, including answers to all the factual questions, were very important to us. Therefore our questionnaires began with an introductory statement informing respondents about our identity, the purpose and importance of our study and the assurance of confidentiality so that the trust of the people could be gained. The average time for a questionnaire survey interview was between 45 minutes and 1 hour. However, some interviews in Shia lasted about 1 hour 20 minutes because my fluency in the local dialect was not high and I needed an interpreter where English is not understood. As principal researcher, I kept a log of the number of completed questionnaires received from interviewers each day. This helped to avoid the loss of questionnaires.

#### 4.8.3 Semi-Structured Interviews

The application of semi-structured interviews is the last methodological tool that was employed to complement the previous two tools – focus group meetings and questionnaire surveys, with the aim of obtaining richer and deeper research results. This is a form of qualitative interviewing with a guided conversation which is easily accessible and allows the researcher to gather deep, rich insights into the topic and varied data in an informal setting (Flowerdew and Martins 2005; Cloke et al 2004; Hoggart & Lees 2002; Patton 2002; Maguire, 1987). The semi-structured interviews, enabled me to examine the experiences, feelings or opinions that the questionnaire surveys and focus group meetings could never hope to capture.

Bearing in mind that the in-depth interviews would take much more time, a smaller sample of people was interviewed. Table 4.6 sets out the number of people involved in Konkonuru and Shia villages.

**Table 4.6 Numbers involved in semi-structured interviews**

<b>Respondents</b>	<b>Konkonuru</b>	<b>Shia</b>
Philanthropists	2	1
Chiefs/elders	12	11
People ( age group)		
15-29	7	13
30-39	8	17
40-49	7	10
50-59	6	11
60- above	4	8
Total	45	71

**Source: Survey (2010)**

We also ensured that those selected were well-informed before interviews about the issues being researched (purposive sampling, discussed earlier). This enabled them to provide relevant information. An interview guide that listed the main topics and sub-topics to be explored was used in our interviews. The guide was designed in such a way that similar types of information that would give in-depth explanations of data collected from the focus group meetings and questionnaire survey would be elicited from respondents. The flexible guide, therefore, helped me pace the interview and made the interview process more efficient and comprehensive. I encouraged participants to express themselves in as much detail as they wished, and to discuss those issues that they felt were of the greatest relevance and interest to them. Overall, the issues explored included participants' views about the legitimacy of the new position of the philanthropists, how responsive and effective their chiefs and elders were, their inclusion in decision making and how the new appointments has affected their lives. My encouragement made it possible to record expressions and emotions both vocal and in body language as well as their appearance and environment.

#### **4.9 Secondary Data**

Another qualitative source was the collected newspaper reports and my correspondence with some key participants in my fieldwork. Before starting the fieldwork, an attempt was made to study and collect a sufficient amount of literature from the general to the

specific on the topic. Unfortunately, only four academic articles were available on the topic of foreign development chiefs/queens. Two articles from Steegstra(2006; 2004), one from Bob Milliar (2008) and the other from Abayie- Boaten (2004). All three authors focused on the cultural perspective of the concept. However there were 833 newspaper reports on chieftaincy (general), including 264 reports on foreign development philanthropists. It must be emphasized that data or information from newspapers alone will not give a reliable analysis for academic purposes. In most cases, and especially in Ghana, newspapers (or their owners) are power holders, as argued by Herman and Chomsky (1988) and Foucault (1980; 1997) so that they propagate ideas that will help them to dominate in ideological terms. However the availability of the primary data from field work will triangulate any error of judgment from newspaper information. Most of the newspaper reports and articles on the concept of development chiefs and queens were very controversial but, this was very helpful in the evolution of the conceptual framework of the study. For example, the questioning of the credibility and abilities of traditional leaders in their judgment in appointing foreigners without direct experience in Ghanaian traditions, helped this research to look at the ‘effectiveness of leadership as a factor’ in the success of this concept. All the media reports were obtained from the archives of an international media website, Ghanaweb and Ghana National Archives in Accra. Ghanaweb provided many past newspaper reports from the year 2000 on this topic from newspapers from Ghana and all over the world. At the Ghana National Archives Library, the reports were only on Ghanaian newspapers, but dated from 1992. Though there were difficulties in obtaining more access to data from the ministries of Chieftaincy Affairs and Rural Development in Ghana, the data collected from the other sources was sufficient for the study. Valuable materials on rural development and traditional institutions were found in the library of the School of Oriental and African Studies. Nevertheless, useful correspondence with development chiefs and queens was also kept as secondary data. It must be worth mentioning that we collected some informal data, obtained from our attendance at a funeral at Konkonuru and, at a festival at Shia, that were very useful. Many people were in a good frame of mind to listen and talk. In addition we met many of their relatives from the diaspora, who had come for a funeral or festival.

#### **4.10 Data Processing and Analysis**

After the end of the period for fieldwork, an inventory of data for each objective of the study was made. All of the data collected through the three methodological tools – focus

group discussions, questionnaire surveys and semi-structured interviews – were given a final quality control check by the research team for completeness and internal consistency, as suggested by Varkerisser et al (2003). I then began with the analysis by sorting the data into the three groups: the people, the chief and elders, and the development chiefs/queens (or the philanthropists). This was important to the facilitation of the processing and analysis. Because this involved both qualitative and quantitative methodologies, a multidisciplinary approach was used. The next step was processing the data by categorizing, coding, and summarizing the data manually using data master sheets. The data were categorized according to villages, respondents (philanthropists, chiefs and elders, people) socio-economic status of respondents, the objectives and the hypothesis of the research. The classifications were designed to explore the phenomenon in each individual village for later comparison to generalize the findings. Descriptive statistical methods – tests of percentages and histograms were used in the quantitative analysis, depending on the nature of the questions.

The qualitative was analyzed with the aim of providing ways by which data could be discerned, examined, compared and contrasted and interpreted as meaningful themes for a result (Denscombe 2010; Varkerisser et al. 1998; Oakley and Marsden 1984). A similar sorting procedure was used for the grouping of the respondents into development chiefs/queens, chiefs and elders, and the people. The quantitative data processing started with careful transcription of the field work notes and tapes. Because these consist of a lot of narrative texts, systematic ordering was used to reduce the data. This was done in relation to the objectives and the discussion topics of the study. Key words were sub-categorized and this made it possible for the data to be interpreted. They were then coded and summarized in compilation sheets. I further summarized them into matrices. The conclusions were becoming obvious when I started summarizing the data in the compilation sheets and matrices. At this stage I began to look at both analyzed quantitative and qualitative data in combination.

#### **4.11 Ethical issues**

The research fieldwork throughout adhered to the ethics of the Geography Department, Kings College, London. However, the general ethics of all academic research were observed. We ensured that respect and accountability to the respondent were achieved to the highest degree. We recognized their societal and customary values. For example, the need to present a dry gin to chief and elders before an audience is granted. We also ensured that we established the best and most acceptable interaction with the

communities, for example, at receptions and in our general behaviour. With humility, we recognized the intelligence of our respondents. We accepted that the people are knowledgeable concerning their own situation, and whatever their interpretation it makes sense to them, as noted by Descombe (2010). We were also honest to respondents about the purpose of our fieldwork and did our best to be fair to both sexes in our approach to respondent. This is because men's views dominate in public gatherings in their culture.

#### **4.12 Challenges in Fieldwork**

The fieldwork environment in rural Ghana is very challenging. Three major challenges were faced by the team; the perception about us, cultural factors and language barriers, and all three impinged on the fieldwork.

There is the perception that anyone who has returned from abroad is rich. There was always the idea that we arrived with a powerful currency like the pound sterling, euro or dollar. As Kabki (2004) said 'wobenana a eye bebre'. This is interpreted as; 'if you smelt the foreign currency, it becomes a huge amount in Ghanaian currency'. Hence, those in desperate poverty always go to the extreme of begging for money from us. I explained to them that I am just a student and this research is for my academic work. However, participants were presented with a cake of soap for every interview. Adhering to culture was another challenge that was faced by our team. All the villages have farming and non-farming days. The best times for us to command their attention were evenings and their non-farming days. Thirdly, the language barrier also gave us some hard work to do in our research fieldwork. The guide to the three research instruments were written in English. We had, in most cases to translate them into Akuapen for Konkonuru, Ga for Kpone Balewashie and Ewe for Shia for the interviews. My fluency in Akuapen and a few words of Ewe were an advantage. Another advantage was that the literacy level in a place like Shia was satisfactory and many speak and understand English. Our questionnaires were in very simple and easy-to-understand language which made the work easier as well. Nevertheless, the problem of loss of meaning in translation for the illiterate or poorly educated people is worth mentioning. It must be emphasized that it is hard to translate the exact meaning of some English words into the local languages in Ghana. However, the use of three study instruments helped to minimise this risk of loss.

#### **4.13 Strengths and Limitations of the Research**

An acceptable piece of research, which involves designing, analyzing and concluding, depends on its validity and reliability (Bryman 2006; Parton 2002 and Silverman 2006). To ensure the validity of this work, firstly, it was essential that the research questions were answered, so that the goals and objectives of the thesis research were fulfilled. Secondly, efforts were made to overcome the limitations encountered in various methodologies. Interviews are time-consuming for qualitative data collection. In addition data collection, transcribing and coding make analysis laborious. There could also be an 'interviewer effect', where the data would be based on what respondents say but not what they do. Using tape in recording for the interviews may also inhibit respondents especially when they are concerned about confidentiality and invasion of privacy. The survey questionnaires were not completed by the whole sample selected. We had an average 89% response rate which may affect the accuracy of the representative data from the population. The questionnaire survey also offered little opportunity to check the accuracy of the answers given by the respondents. This is due to the pre-coded answers to questions which imposed some restrictions on respondents in expressing their thoughts in detail.

The choice of the three main complementary instruments, focus group discussions, questionnaire surveys and semi-structured interviews, helped to cross check and support the validity of information collected. This useful combination contributed to the validity of the fieldwork. Patton (2002) suggests that the ability and skills of the researcher will have an impact on the reliability and validity of a study. This means the reliability of this work, which depends on the soundness of my ability and of my data, is significant. I used my ability to capture responsible response from the participants. This includes being flexible, understandable and having a willingness to reschedule meetings. Another factor was our ability to interact with respondents. I did my best to remove any psychological gap, for example by mode of dress, and by sharing food. 'Snowballing' also gave us pre-knowledge of respondents. The summation of all these skills and abilities led to a good rapport and minimized errors. This study is a generalized representation of the population of seven regions in southern Ghana. However, on account of limited money and time resources, only three were selected for subjective sampling because of the small difference in culture. Also, the methodology was qualitative complemented by quantitative, so a large amount of data was not needed for

the analysis. It must also be noted that there was a high level of similarity in people's perceptions, expectations and experience on this research topic. Hence a possible high degree of reliability was achieved without a larger population. Nevertheless, the methodology was flexible and this gave me the chance to revise the research framework quickly as new information emerged from the focus group discussions.

#### **4.14 Conclusion**

The nature of the research question required the application of both qualitative and quantitative methodologies. Focus group discussions and introductory meetings were exploration approaches which provided the research focus – the availability of philanthropic resources, effectiveness of community leaders, participation of the people and development impact. Based on these, data were collected using questionnaire surveys and semi-structured interviews for quantified explanations and deeper explanations respectively on the research focus. Findings of the analysis are discussed in the following chapters.



## **CHAPTER FIVE**

### **THE COMMUNITIES: DEVELOPMENT AND PARTICIPATION**

#### **5.1 Introduction**

In the last five decades developing countries have in effect been used as a laboratory for rural development programmes by governments and aid agencies. As economic and political circumstances have changed in the last two decades, the approach to development in which the state controls the administration and activities, with bureaucratic mechanisms to deliver services, has seen a rise in ‘grass roots’ development (Rigg 1991). This is a development that aims to engage people in decision making (Khan 2006 2006:141).

In Ghana, decentralisation of responsibilities to district governments and to the communities, where traditional authorities play a major role in governing the people, has taken place since 1988 (Odotei 2004). Some traditional authorities have taken a whole new development path by accommodating foreign philanthropists into their institutions, with a created position of development chief or ‘queen’, a position equivalent to leader in charge of development. In an article on the framework for this concept, Abayie-Boaten (1999) has suggested that traditional institutions that adopt the development philanthropist idea expect such leaders to involve the people and lead them in the process of development.

This chapter provides data from surveys, interviews, secondary data and observations in order to analyse villages from three aspects:

- The development outcome for three villages (all of which had adopted the concept for at least seven years);
- An understanding of the concept in relation to the villages, Konkonuru and Shia;
- Peoples’ participation in the new concept in Konkonuru and Shia.

## 5.2 The Research Communities

The location of research sites in the country and the background to the different development stories of each community are presented comparatively in this section.

**Table 5.1 Philanthropist and development projects at research sites as at December 2010**

Village	Kpone Bawaleshie	Konkonuru	Shia
Region	Greater Accra	Eastern	Volta
Population (2000 census)	1,078 (2000 census) 2,800 (estimate)	1,045 (2000 census) 2,100 (estimate)	1,924 (2000 census) 3,200 (estimate)
Development Chief	None	Mr Samir Kalmoni (Lebanese) Royal name: Nana Kwaku Asabere Year: 2001 Residence: Konkonuru, Ghana	Mr John Lawler (British) Royal name: Togbe Mottey Year: 1998 Residence: Newcastle, UK
Development Queen	Lindsay Kaufman (American) Royal name: Naa Korkor Amen I Year: 2003 Residence: New York, USA	Mrs Rita A Marley (Jamaican) Royal name: Nana Afua Adobea Year: 2001 Residence: Konkonuru, Ghana	Mrs Elaine Lawler (British) Royal name: Mama Amenyo Nyowu Sika Year: 2006 Residence: Newcastle, UK
Development Projects	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Free medical care for primary school children</li> <li>Five-year development plans which were not realised after four years.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Roads (J)</li> <li>Electrification (J)</li> <li>Piped water (M)</li> <li>School buildings (renovations, repairs and improving with equipment) (M)</li> <li>Health centre (M)</li> <li>Community centre (M)</li> <li>Ecotourism project (K)</li> <li>Annual Youth Sports Festival (K)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>School buildings (renovations, repairs and improving with equipment)</li> <li>Public toilets</li> <li>Health (provision of voluntary medical professionals)</li> </ul>

Sources: various interviews, secondary data and observations

(J) = Joint project (K)= Project by Kalmoni (M)= Project by Marley

### 5.2.1 ‘Konkonuru on development path’

This is the title of an article in a national newspaper *The Daily Searchlight* on 24 September 2010. The article tells the story of how foreign development philanthropists Mr Kalmani and Mrs Rita Marley were leading the village in achieving its aspirations.

Konkonuru is a village in Akwapim North District in the Eastern region, with a population of 2,100 as estimated by the chief (interview, Konkonuru, 13 November 2010). It has about 450-500 households with an average of 5-6 persons per household. The indigenous language is Akwapim (Akan). The village is located on a hill side in one of the Akwapim hilly terrains, about 12 km from Accra to the south and 4 km from Aburi, the capital of the district, to the north. About 10 km to the west of the village is Nsawam and 1.5 km to the east is Jankama (Map 5.2). According to an elderly woman to whom we spoke, the village is just over 100 years old. It is believed the first settlers were from the Ashanti region, following the Aburi war in 1896 (interview, Konkonuru, 17 November 2010).

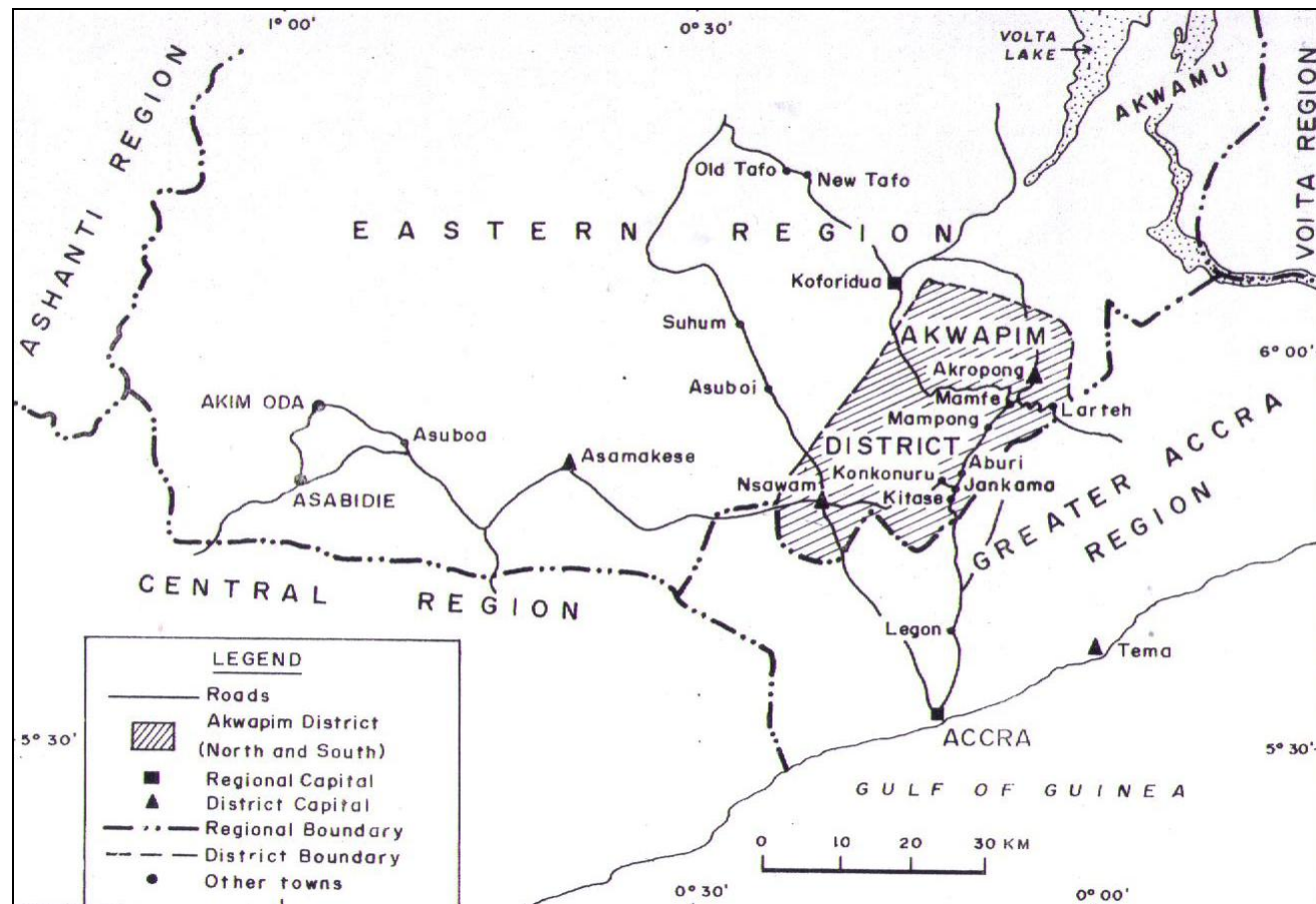
The village has an elected representative in the state government, an assemblyman for the Akwapem North District, who also represents the state government at village level (interview with the chief of Konkonuru, 17 November 2010). He was at every meeting we had with the chief and elders. This suggests a harmonious relationship between the state executive government and the traditional leaders.

The Konkonuru traditional authority comes under the Akwapem state institution. According to the elders whom we interviewed (Konkonuru, 17-25 November 2010) the chief of Konkonuru, Nana Addo Mensa II is the Gyasehene, one of the four main paramount divisions of the Akwapim state. His position encompasses the role of kingmaker in the traditional Akwapim state.

Mrs Rita Marley, one of the development philanthropists (‘queen’) is a Jamaican musician and wife of the late Bob Marley (the popular reggae music star in the 1970s and 1980s). She was installed as development queen in 2000 with a ‘stool name’ of Nana Afua Adobea. Mrs. Marley believed that her ancestors come from Africa and decided to move and live there after the death of Bob Marley in 1981. She first relocated from Jamaica to Ethiopia before settling in Ghana 1999 – where she ‘feels more at home’ (interview, Konkonuru, 21 November 2010). Her first contact with the village was when she decided that it was a suitable location for her residence/music studio, because the area has low temperatures throughout the year.

The other development chief, Mr Samir Kalmoni, is Lebanese and chief executive of Papaye Restaurants, a chain of restaurants in Ghana with multinational cuisine. He was installed as the development chief of the village with the 'stool name' Nana Kweku Asabere, in the year 2001 (the chief of Konkonuru, 17 November 2010). He moved with his brothers and family from Lebanon to Ghana in the early 1990s and started Papaye Restaurants which has grown into a chain business (Kalmoni, Konkonuru, 20 November 2010). His first contact with the village was when he was looking for land to grow vegetables to supply the restaurant. Since their appointments, the two philanthropists have been working together and there is good rapport between them as described by Nana Addo Mensa II (interview, Konkonuru, 17 November 2010). On one occasion, Mr Kalmoni received a telephone call from Rita Marley, while we were at his residence (pers. obs). They had a discussion on an education issue concerning the village.

Both also have their main residence close by, which improves their contact with the people. Their positive interactions with local people occur in various ways. Some villagers worked in their residence as domestic workers, a service which is important in the provision of local employment. The district assemblyman told us that he and the unit committee members have a good professional relationship with the philanthropists. A youth trader in herbal medicine (Kodua, Konkonuru, 21 November 2010) explained to me that at least one of them attends social gatherings and occasions such as community meetings, durbars and festivals where villagers can meet them, and Mr Kalmoni organises an annual sports competition for the youth from all the villages in the Akwapem District (various respondents, Konkonuru, November 2010). Rita Marley is also linked with the Women's Association and attends their meetings (various respondents, Konkonuru, November 2010). Since their appointments, the two philanthropists have led the village in improving infrastructural facilities. They have jointly led the village with help from the government to get electricity (for both homes and street lighting), and the main road has been improved and tarred (pers. obs.). The Rita and Bob Marley Foundations have almost completed a clinic/health centre, and have provided piped water and improved the local school's facilities. It has also built a kindergarten and a community centre, which serves as a meeting point for the villagers. Mr Kalmoni has also constructed a good drainage system alongside the tarred road to protect it from erosion as the village is on a hillside. Another big project under



**Map 5.1 Local map showing the location of Konkonuru. Source: Hardiman (2001)**

construction in the village by Mr Kalmoni is the development of a 53-acre site for an ecotourism business. The complex has an extensive grove of exotic fruit trees, well cultivated grounds with multi-sports facilities, lodging facilities and an extensive network of roads. The project is already providing jobs for the unemployed in the village. ‘This project will provide about 240 jobs for locals and can also bring businesses here. Very soon our village neighbours will become more jealous of us’ Mr Kalmoni said proudly (interview, Konkonuru, 17 November 2010). Plates 5.1-5.4 illustrate some of the activities of these two FDPs in Konkonoru.

Such background information on the FDP concept at Konkonuru provides the foundation for an analysis as to how and why the concept can achieve success at the village level.



**Plate 5.1**      **Mr Kalmoni organises annual youth sports competition for local villages**



**Plate 5.2 Rita Marley (right) at the entrance to the new health centre built by her foundation.**



**Plate 5.3 Mr Kalmoni (left) and NanaAddo Mensa II (Chief) on the construction site at the entrance to the ecotourism complex.**





**Plate 5.4 Principal researcher touring the ecotourism complex with Nana Addo Mensa II**

#### 5.2.2 Kpone Bawaleshie: where things went wrong

Kpone Bawaleshie is in the Damgbe West district in the greater Accra region. It has a population of about 2,600 (estimated by District Assemblyman, interview, Bawaleshie, 2 November 2010) with about 620-700 households. There are 4.5-5 persons per household and the indigenous language is Ga Damgbe. The village is situated on the Accra–Dodowa road. It is relevant that Dodowa is a large town which has been mooted as the site of a possible new capital for Ghana, as Accra is congested and over-populated. Kpone Bawaleshie is about 8 km west of Accra and 1.5 km east of Dodowa, (*ibid*, Bawaleshie, 2 November 2010). The village is on a flatland with many urban-style houses which are plastered with cement and painted, and about 80% are roofed with corrugated aluminium sheets. This village also has a large guesthouse for foreigners from Europe who come to Ghana for voluntary work, and there were four 2-storey buildings belonging to members of the Ghanaian diaspora (pers. obs).





**Map 5.3 Local map showing the location of Kpone Bawaleshie**

Many of those in the active age group from this village either commute to Accra for work or migrate to big cities or go abroad (various conversations, Bawaleshie, November 2010). Many of these migrants send remittances from the cities and abroad to the village (telephone interview with District Assembly official, Mr Jonathan Otu Akunor, Accra, 20 October 2010).

This village also an internet café and communication centre which was always fully occupied during most of our days there (pers. obs.). On many occasions the youth were seen gathered under a big shady tree near the centre where palm wine is sold, discussing and arguing about national and international politics (pers. obs.). It became evident from various conversations with youths in this village in October 2010 that because of their exposure to the outside world through their work outside the village, and access to internet and television<sup>6</sup> (sent to them by relatives abroad), their knowledge of politics and democracy was relatively deeper and more sophisticated than in the other villages which were further off the beaten track.

A few farmers in the village grow mango and sugar cane. There are also maize and cassava farms. However, most of the women are engaged in making gari – processing a food from fermented cassava (pers. obs.).

The traditional authority comes under the Dangbe Traditional State. The main chief of the village is called Nene Marteh Kanor II. He was 96 years old and frail. Some of his duties are now performed by his eldest son.

The village installed Miss Lindsay Smith Kaufman as development queen in 2003, with a stool name of Naa Korkor Amen II. Mrs Kaufman is an American development

<sup>6</sup> Ghana has four local television channels and three popular international channels (BBC, CNN and Al Jazeera) .

volunteer who had been visiting the village for some time, and became a friend to the village (interview with assembly official, Bawaleshie, 20 October, 2010). Miss Kaufman and the village elders set up a five-year development plan to help the village (GNA, 2007). The following projects were on the list:

- Community clinic;
- Library;
- Teachers' quarters;
- Day nursery;
- Permanent water facility;
- Community centre.

At the time of our field work none of them had been started (after seven years). According to information revealed at the focus group discussion for the community (Bawaleshie, 8 November 2010), the traditional leaders had been corrupt, and dishonest with the development queen. The youth at the meeting felt 'let down' by the elders and questioned the legitimacy of the entire leadership. The strength of the youths' disappointment and annoyance with the village leaders was quite clear from their comments during the focus group. They said, for example, 'we do not have trust and respect for the leaders anymore because they had squandered our development chances' and that, 'the leaders focused on their self-interest only and also [were] not transparent'. The assembly official who was highly educated (a graduate) and does attend meetings held by the traditional authority, also agreed with the youth that the leadership had been poor. The development queen, Miss Kaufman, had also not been on good terms with the leadership because of their poor leadership and unfaithfulness. She accused them for two reasons. First they secured help from a non-governmental organisation in The Netherlands without her knowledge. According to the assemblyman, the chief's son, who had made himself gatekeeper for the village, negotiated with the Dutch NGO to establish a development project in the village. The development queen felt she had been kept in the dark on this development issue. Secondly, there was a problem of gaining access to land for development projects and this led to a dispute between the chiefs and the development queen. There was no stool land available for projects in Kpone Bawaleshie and we discovered that families were not ready to surrender their lands for such projects for free. This is not surprising. Land ownership in Ghana is seen as a major asset and can also be an investment. Giving land free for public use would be difficult for a poor man in Ghana (Participant, FGD, Kpone Bawaleshie November 2010) so for every project a piece of land had to be bought. This inevitably raised the costs of the project, something that was thought to be unfair by the development

philanthropist at Kpone Bawaleshie because she then had to raise funds to pay for the land. This caused a rift between the traditional authority and the development chief who thought that it was the responsibility of the village chief to make land available for development projects. She also felt that the people should have come forward to volunteer their land as the project would benefit the community. But land in this area is particularly valuable and people are unwilling to donate it to projects especially as this area has been mooted as the site for a future new capital for Ghana, replacing Accra.

The son of the chief who acts as the gatekeeper explained to us that Miss Kaufman had ceased to contact them because of their unfaithfulness and he said that he would like the research team to contact Miss Kaufman, and apologise on their behalf. Her only contact that was given to us was her email address. Although I tried several times to contact her, I was not successful.



**Plate 5.5: Principal researcher at Bawaleshie with (from left) Philip (research assistant), Mr Otu Okunor (district assemblyman) and Mr Jacob (village youth leader).**

Our presence and the questions we asked revealed some strong tensions in this location and eventually the traditional authority asked us to discontinue our research in the village (at the interview stage) giving the reason that it could lead to a youth revolt. They apologised to us for the inconvenience, but it meant that we could not start the survey or the semi-structured interviews. However, our experience in Kpone

Bawaleshie pointed very clearly to the ways in which the effectiveness of traditional leaders and the level of knowledge of villagers can influence the success of the development chief concept.

### 5.2.3 Shia: the side-lined community

Shia is a village with a population of about 3,200 (estimated by Mr Avudzivi, the gatekeeper, Shia, 29 November 2010). It has about 450-500 households with an average of eight persons per household, and is in the Volta region known as Eweland (Ewe being the indigenous language). The village is situated 25 km south of Ho, the capital of the region, 12 km east of the Nyive border near Aflao (Ghana-Togo Border), 50 km west of Lake Volta, and about 50 km from Kpando, one of the big commercial towns in the region. The village comes under the Ho district assembly (Ho district municipal information, [www.ghanadistrict/voltaregion/ho](http://www.ghanadistrict/voltaregion/ho)). According to Mr Avudzivi (interview, Shia, 29 November 2010), Shia is ruled by a hierarchy of chiefs. The main chief is Togbe Dadzawa III. There are four major clans with sub-clans. These are as follows:

- Hendome – the kingmakers;
- Anyiebe – headed by subchief Togbe Adzalu;
- Gbagbate – headed by Togbe Dzimendzor IV;
- Fiagbe – known as the warriors, and the clan of Togbe Dadzawa III.

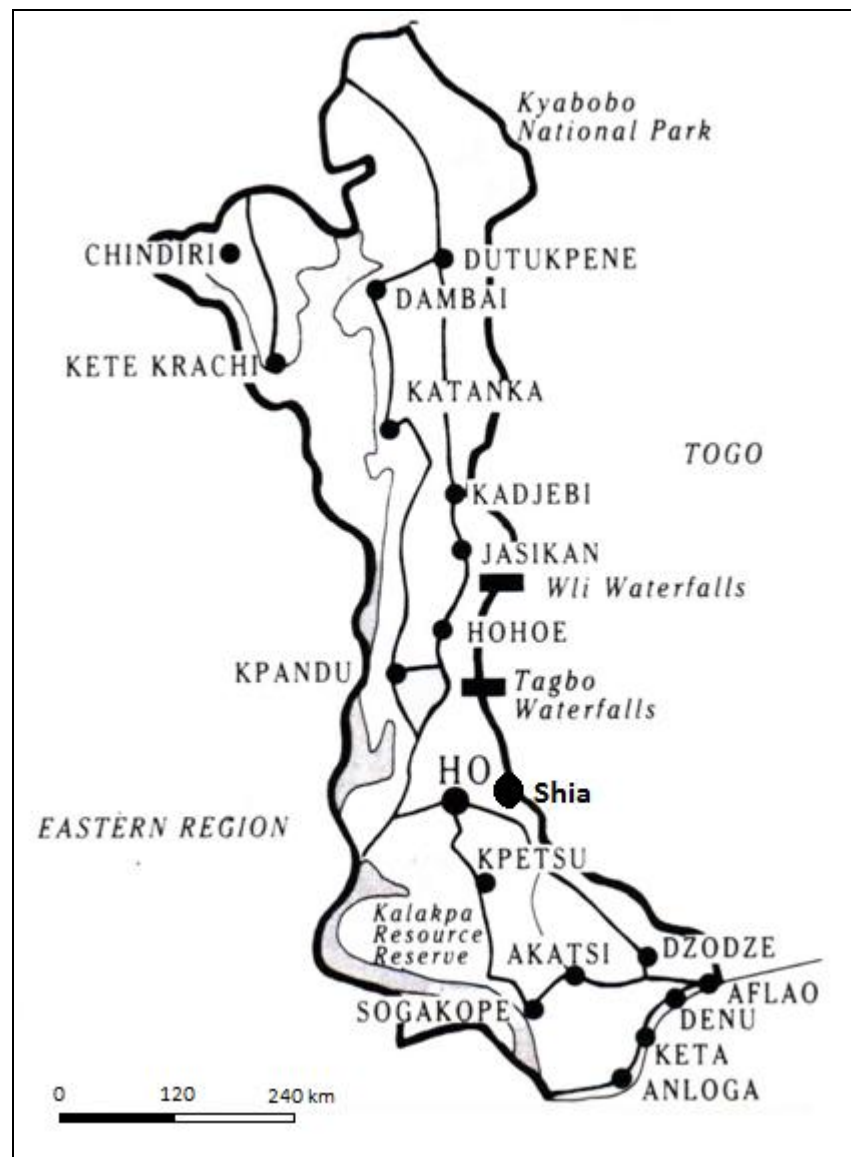
There is a district assembly member who represents the village area, and there are unit committee members, as expected of every village (*ibid*, Shia, 29 November 2010).

The village has good supplies of piped water and electricity and education buildings up to senior secondary school level (pers. obs). Their community clinic has the facilities needed to operate it, but they cannot get a full-time doctor to head it. However, it is managed by a full-time nurse (interview with John Lawler, Shia, 29 November 2010). The communities in the district including Shia are clustered on a wide but very badly maintained road that links Ho to the Nyive border with Togo (pers. obs.). Only a few robust cars and motor cycles use the road because of its condition. This affects villagers in many ways – livelihood income, travelling and schooling. We were present when the minister for roads and highways came to ‘cut the sod’, a form of ceremony, for the start of the reconstruction of the road (pers. obs).

The village has John Lawler, a British philanthropist from Newcastle, as their development chief with a ‘stool name’ of Togbe Mottey. Mr Lawler came to know the village when he spent a gap year doing voluntary work there in 1996. In 1997, after leaving Shia and becoming a friend to the village, they approached him and proposed

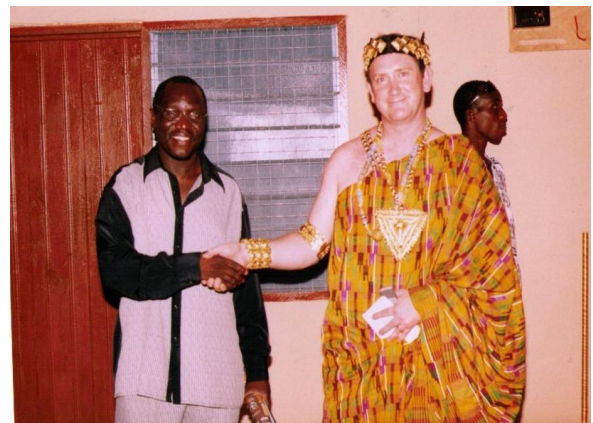
the idea of him becoming their development chief, which he willingly agreed to do. In 2006, the marriage of John and his wife Elaine was blessed in the village at a big ceremony which was attended by many British diplomats including the High Commissioner to Ghana (interview with John Lawler, London, 9 June 2010). This encouraged the community to install his wife as ‘development queen’, with a ‘stool name’ Mama Amenyo Nyowu Sika.

John Lawler has been able to help with the completion of many projects in the village. We observed that his main contact is through a retired accountant, Mr Justus Avudzivi, from Shell Petroleum. Mr Avudzivi is a native of Shia who had returned on retirement.



**Map 5.3** Area map showing the location of Shia

(interview, Shia, 29 November 2010). Mr Lawler commends him for his mediation role and his effectiveness in communication (interview, London, 9 November 2010). As we visited and interviewed Mr Avudzivi we observed that John Lawler finds it easy and comfortable to communicate with the village through him because of his level of education, fluency in English and access to ICT. His house also served as a point where volunteers and gap-year students at Shia come for help and information. One of the community members commented ‘we do not find any problem with his role because he does a good job, but we would like Togbe (Mr Lawler) to have contact with us as well’. (Francis, interview, Shia, 3 December 2010). The projects whose development has been led by Mr and Mrs Lawler include a new kindergarten, public toilets, and the building and renovation of classrooms at all levels of education found in Shia. The latest project, which had just been completed, was a new technical block with two offices and brand new computers for the senior secondary school (see plate 5.5).



**Plate 5.6: LEFT: John Lawler cutting the tape to open the new technical block for the Shia Senior School. RIGHT: principal researcher congratulating Mr Lawler on his achievements.**

In his recent communication with the principal researcher, Mr Lawler expressed his interest in embarking on an ecotourism project in the village (email communication, 13 March 2012). It must be emphasised that John Lawler uses gap-year students from the United Kingdom for the construction of his projects. He explains that securing the gap-year students is part of the business of his voluntary organisation, MADVENTURE, which recruits gap-year students from the UK to many developing countries including Ghana, India, Kenya, Thailand, Nepal and Bolivia (see Plate 5.6). However, the Shia community fails to understand his explanation (interview, London, 9 June 2010),



wanting to be involved through offering communal labour (various interviews, 30 November to 13 December 2010). The headmaster of the senior secondary school who comes from Kpando, a town about 50 km from Shia, summed up the people's frustration:

‘Everybody wants to get involved with his project so that we can also feel part of them. I think the cost of bringing down youngsters from Europe could be used for something else.’ (Interview, Shia, 1 December 2010).

Despite the explanation that the gap-year students come and live there at their own expense, the headmaster and some of the local people believe that the local people should be encouraged to be involved at some stage. This reflects the present circumstances in which the people are side-lined and decisions are made for them, even though those decisions do bring about positive outcomes in terms of services provided. Another issue was that John Lawler visits Shia only about once a year. People feel that somebody who is in charge of development should come more often than he does, so as to deal with development matters. This reflects their failure to accept that he has his business to run and that his position as development chief is not his full-time engagement but is voluntary.

#### **5.2.4 Analysis**

Comparing the development stories of the three villages – Kpone Bawaleshie, Konkonuru and Shia – some differences emerge. Each village has taken a different direction since they adopted the concept, and their various approaches reveal some interesting facts. Konkonuru has a formal system for providing a forum for peoples' involvement, so that they have access to the development philanthropists who live amongst them. This makes contact among the stakeholders easy and therefore the village is the one where there has been the greatest impact and where the villagers are happiest. Shia does not have a formal system for providing a forum to the people, who have less contact with the philanthropist (who lives abroad and comes at most twice a year). Although development projects have taken place, as the people acknowledge, they are not impressed by their inability to be involved in the projects. At Kpone Bawaleshie, there is no forum for the people to discuss development but they were able to let their needs be known through focus group meetings that we organised. Despite having a five-year development plan in place, none of the projects had taken place because of ineffectiveness and disagreement between the leaders and the development queen.



**Plate 5.7: Gap-year volunteers from the UK working on a project at Shia; the local people feel side-lined.**

Considering this background, we developed the following hypotheses:

1. Participation of the people is essential for a successful outcome of the concept;
2. Effectiveness of traditional leadership facilitates proper administration that leads to the achievement of community development;
3. Nature of philanthropy by the development chief or queen is a factor in the success of the concept.

In the next sections of this chapter and later chapters we will examine empirical data collected through surveys and interviews from villagers, leaders and philanthropists – and how these three factors work.



### **5.3 Community approach to the new development concept**

The following section analyses and discusses the primary and secondary data collected from Konkonuru and Shia. As explained, fieldwork was discontinued at Kpone Bawaleshie following the request from its leaders.

#### **5.3.1 Livelihood and standard of living in the villages**

During the survey, the following personal observations were made. 121 houses were counted at Konkonuru and 316 at Shia. The majority of the houses in both villages were built with mud, plastered with cement. The mud is revealed in most of the houses by erosion caused by rain. Most of the houses have cement floors and are roofed with aluminium sheets. The houses in Konkonuru are single household houses with a maximum of four rooms, while the majority of houses in Shia are compounds – having about 8-12 rooms – that hold more than three households.

From the houses visited in the course of this research in both villages, the evidence of people's financial status could be judged by their possessions. Those that are financially sound have wooden bedsteads with foam mattresses, while average households have bedsteads with mattresses made with grass straw. The poor have no bedsteads and sleep on straw mats on the floor. This situation is typical in rural communities in Ghana. Financial evidence can also be judged by the possession of certain consumer goods such as television sets, cassette radios, mobile phones etc. I also saw a microwave oven in one household in Shia. Nana Aboagye, one of the sub-chiefs in Konkonuru, explained that some of these consumer goods are believed to come as gifts from visiting relatives from abroad (interview, Konkonuru, 20 November 2010). A few compounds in both villages have their own pit latrines, but those without use public ones. There are two public latrines (one for men and the other for women) at Konkonuru, built in the early 1970s by the Ghana Health Authority. The latrine at Shia was built by John Lawler in 2001.

The commercial farmers at Shia are predominantly engaged in cash crops such as cocoa and mango farming and staple crops such as maize; cassava, yam, plantain and other vegetables. At Konkonuru, according to an elderly respondent (interview, Konkonuru, 21 November 2010), the village used to be well-stocked with forest trees but it has

experienced massive deforestation over the past three decades. Nana Addo Mensah II explained that there were various causes of the deforestation: one issue was old age of the trees; another was the use of the trees for firewood and charcoal production; and there had also been problems insects and fungal infestations (interview, Konkonuru, 19 November 2010). Thus, these problems with tree diseases have affected cash-crop farming such as cocoa and coffee. As a result, cash crop farming has shifted drastically to staple-food farming such as cassava, plantain, maize, yam and other vegetables.

In both villages, food is mainly cooked on stoves made from earth with firewood as fuel. However some people use charcoal as fuel in a metal pot popularly known to Ghanaians as ‘coal pot’. Staple foods commonly found in both villages are plantain, cassava, yam, cocoyam, maize, tomato, egg fruit, pepper, citrus, banana, mango and pineapple. Surprisingly, I saw apples being sold at Konkonuru. They were brought there by a trader who buys them from an imported wholesaler in Accra (personal inquiry).

As neither is a fishing village, their main source of protein is bush meat, where bush animals are either hunted or trapped in the bush. Meat from farm animals such as beef, mutton and pork is expensive in the villages because few people rear animals. This is because the economic way of rearing animals is free-range (various interview, Konkonuru and Shia November to December 2010), and free-range animals destroy farms and this often puts owners in dispute with their neighbours. Some traders bring in various forms of processed fish from the bigger towns on market days (Fridays for Konkonuru and Tuesdays for Shia).

There were a few shops where some convenience foods were sold. In Ghana, convenience foods and items are called ‘essential commodities’. These include bar and cake soaps, detergents, canned fish and meats, drinks and beverages that are canned, bottled or powdered, and phonecards. One convenience shop in Shia was also selling stationery.

On market day at Konkonuru (personal observation, 20 November 2010), the market was held in an open space along the main street. It was attended by traders and farmers from nearby villages and towns such as Oyarifa, Kitase, Jankama, Aburi and Accra as well. The traders came with items such as clothes and footwear, both new and second-hand, and processed fish, and farmers brought produce from their farms. In Shia the market day is a non-farming day. This allows a higher participation in the market. The manner of trading is similar to that of Konkonuru. One can conclude from their activities that those traders that come from outside the district, cities and big towns

come with the items that are needed by the villagers and they in turn buy the produce from the farmers in bulk to sell them in cities and the big towns.

There were two passenger vans that provide transportation for the Konkonuru community. These vans belong to a family who had acquired them through two of their children working abroad. One that looks newer and stronger plies between Konkonuru and Accra, while the older one plies between Konkonuru and Jankama. A decade ago, according to some of the villagers, there was no transport plying between this village and the outside world because of the poor access road but now that, through the efforts of their development chief, they have tarred road, things have changed (various interviews, Konkonuru, November 2010). At Shia, transportation was very different. The road between the village and Ho, the capital of Volta region is particularly bad. About 80% of the road was potholed, with rocks and gullies. Interestingly this road is an alternative road from Ho to Togo, a neighbouring country. Between Ho and Shia one can count as many as 13 villages on the 25 km between them. However the main transport between these two places is by motorcycles, which can more easily manoeuvre between the obstacles. Many young men in the district are involved in this motorcycle business because they get passengers all the time. As the motorcycle can take only two passengers they are always in demand. There was only one old passenger truck that plied, unreliably, from Shia to Ho, with one trip a day. It left the village very early in the morning and returned in the evening. The villagers complained that the lorry broke down very often because of the condition of the road and the age of the vehicle.

The researchers observed that there were more children in many of the households in Shia than Konkonuru. Shia was estimated to have about an average of six children per household and Konkonuru, about four children per household. In both villages, we found that many of the children had their fathers, and in some cases both parents, absent. This is more prevalent in Shia because young adults are encouraged to migrate amongst the Ewe tribe (Dugbazah, 2010). Such children have to be looked after by their mothers or grandparents who are older and physically weaker. A consequent problem is that children whose parents are not sending high enough remittances, (or none at all), suffer in their education. They have to abandon school and help their mothers or grandparents in the farm so that the household can survive.

### 5.3.2 Why foreign development philanthropists?

The adoption of this new concept by rural communities in Ghana is sometimes mocked as a controversial idea. It is, for instance, suggested by some historians and politicians that rural leaders are exchanging culture for prosperity. This implies that they are adopting foreigners into the royal tradition for the sake of development. This seemed to be a topic worth investigating in the course of the present research. In broad terms the following reasons and factors emerged from our interviews:

- the influence of foreign religion;
- modernisation;
- the general perception of Ghanaians about ‘the white man’;
- failure of the first local philanthropists;

#### 5.3.2.1 *The Influence of Foreign Religion*

Traditional cultures have their backbone in traditional religion. In general, the number of followers of traditional beliefs has been reducing rapidly due to the growth of foreign religions, which are becoming a strong influence on the beliefs and lifestyle of many people in Ghana (ECA, 2007). Religions, such as Christianity and Islam, do not encourage endemic (traditional) beliefs and to some extent the associated culture. Some Christian churches (e.g. the Pentecostals) and Muslims are not allowed to be part of traditional leadership because the traditional institution obliges leaders to pour libations so as to call on the spirits of ancestors and gods and this conflicts with both Islamic and Christian beliefs (Head teacher, Shia, 30 November 2010). Four respondents at Konkonuru, who are senior citizens complained that children who attend mission schools in the village – Methodist and Presbyterian – are taught to reject traditional religion and culture. One respondent mentioned that his daughter even refused to undergo her customary puberty rite because she believed it was superstitious and not permitted by Christianity (Opanin Nti, Konkonuru, 21 November 2010). The rite is a customary ceremony performed with celebrations for a young woman when she reaches puberty (around 14-16 years). This ceremony tells the community of a girl’s readiness to assume adulthood and parenthood. However, it must be emphasised that many of the traditional ceremonies and practices are still being observed in Konkonuru and Shia (Confirmation from various interviews, Konkonuru and Shia, 2010). For example, the annual yam festival had been celebrated just before we started fieldwork for this research at Konkonuru. Also traditional marriage, with little modification from about two decades ago, is more popular than church weddings because of its lower cost. The

Ghana Living Standard Survey (GLSS) conducted in 2005 found that 66.7% of the Ghanaian population practised Christianity, 16.5% Islam, and only 9.2% claimed to follow traditional religions, which are seen as outmoded (GLSS 2008). It can therefore be concluded that foreign religions have reduced the influence of traditions and culture.

**Table 5.2 Household heads by religion (percent).**

<b>Religion</b>	<b>Percent</b>
Christians	66.6
Islam	16.5
Traditional	9.2
No religion	7.4
Other	0.1
Total	100

**Source: GLSS 2008**

#### *5.3.2.2 Modernisation*

Along with development, culture in rural communities in Ghana is undergoing an imitative process of modernising traditional values, based on Western values such as social differentiation and individualism (Taabazuing, 2010). The notion associated with this process is that culture based on Western values, is superior to the culture based on traditional historical values.

Furthermore, traditional beliefs and culture have already been seen as impediments to development by most post-independence governments in Ghana. For example the Kwame Nkrumah regime was one of the post-colonial regimes that did not rule in harmony with traditional leaders because chieftaincy had a negative stigma in regard to modernisation (Rathbone, 2000). The two military regimes of Jerry Rawlings encouraged the youth to stand up to traditional authorities (Hardiman 2001). Some highly learned citizens who communities look up to, also believe strongly that traditional culture and beliefs have no place in modern communities as they feel that they retard, rather than encourage, development (Abotchie 2006). Modernisation has also made people especially the youth, indifferent to traditional culture, as they become involved in a wider society through higher education, recent access to international television channels (e.g. BBC, Al Jazeera and CNN), and travelling. A teacher at Shia mentioned that ‘the youth are becoming more critical of the conduct of affairs of the traditional politics at the village’ (Mr Augustine Oteng, Shia, 30 November 2010).

### 5.3.2.3 Indigenous perceptions of ‘the white man’

To Ghanaians, a ‘white man’ is a term used to refer to foreigners with light coloured skin. So the ‘white man’ could be a European, American, Asian or a North African. There are historic and indigenous perceptions about the ‘white man’ which have influenced the decision as to whether to trust foreign development philanthropists. These perceptions were created by early Western missionaries and colonial appointees, and have existed for more than a century. The investigation by this research found that the same impressions and perceptions are formed by all the tribes in Ghana. The research used the Akan Language, the commonest and dominating language, to note the perceptions in Table 5.3 below.

**Table 5.3: Perceptions about ‘the white man’ and its literal meanings.**

<b>Perceptive phrases (in Twi language)</b>	<b>Literal interpretation</b>
<i>Akwasi Broni, neho yehu!</i>	White man is wonderful. He knows everything.
<i>Bronya</i>	White man’s gift. This is how Ghanaians refer to Christmas.
<i>Wore hwehwe` Nyame na wo hu oboroni a gyae. Efirise` wahunu no.</i>	‘If you are searching for God and you see a white man, stop searching because you have seen him [God]’. [A white man is, in this context, equated to God.]
<i>‘Me Broni’</i>	My white man. Phrase used to call a person [Ghanaian] in the form of praise; when he/she does something good.

**Source: Oral history interpretations from various sources in Ghana.**

We look at the first phrase; ‘*Akwasi Broni, ne ho yehu !*’ This phrase expresses how wonderful the ‘white man’ is in terms of innovation and advancement in technology. The use of *Akwasi*, which means Sunday-born, implies that the white man was born first, before the rest, and also indicates how the indigenous Ghanaian believe that ‘the white man’ is mortal. However, they acknowledge that the ‘the white man’ is more than a hundred years ahead in technology and development.

The second, ‘*Bronya*’ is the name referring to the Christmas festival. The literal meaning is ‘gifts from white man’. History tells that towards the end of the nineteenth century the first Christian missionaries used to distribute wrapped Christmas presents to the indigenous people during the festive period. As this caused them to be always expecting gifts during that season, they called it ‘gifts from white man’.

The third, *‘Wore hwehwe nyame na wo hu oboroni a gyaehwehwe. Efirise wahunu no’*. This literally means ‘when you are searching for God and you see a “Whiteman”, stop searching because you have seen God’. Here the indigenous people believe that the ‘Whiteman’ possesses supernatural powers similar to God’s and, these powers enable him to do such wonderful things a ‘Blackman’ cannot do. They also believe that the ‘Whiteman’ possesses the attributes of God, such as being generous, kind and compassionate.

*‘Mebroni’* is used to praise Ghanaians who do something wonderful up to the standard expected of the ‘Whiteman’. This phrase explains how indigenous Ghanaians believe that it is rare for a Ghanaian to be as philanthropic, kind and as wonderful as a ‘Whiteman’.

The strong feelings that a ‘Whiteman’ is wonderful, generous, knowledgeable and supernatural lead the indigenous rural people, to seek the opportunity to tap these attributes and help from the white man. Hence FDPs are mostly favoured by indigenous rural people.

#### *5.3.2.4 Inefficiency of the early local development chiefs/queens*

Our research found that most Ghanaians have little confidence in appointing a local Ghanaian as their development chief or queen even if he/she were very rich. Even though neither village had ever had development philanthropists before, they were very happy that they did not have Ghanaian development philanthropists (Interviews with respondents, Konkonuru and Shia, 2010). The explanations from most respondents were that many villages that did, were neither happy nor had benefited. Some of their reasons were: not being resourceful (Ghanaians have fewer outside contacts to attract development, as compared to foreigners); and that some of them were following their personal interests rather than those of the people (they used the position to promote their personal careers, e.g. in politics). In the interview with Humphrey Barclay, he mentioned that his village, Kwahu Tafo, had had a local development chief but did not make significant development progress during his tenure because he was not effective in leading the people. He mentioned that his predecessor was also struggling to raise money for projects (interview, London, 13 May 2010).

### 5.3.4 Effects on migration

The distribution of respondents gives an idea of the age distribution of the two villages (table 5.4). Konkonuru shows a significantly higher proportion (43.6%) of its population in the active age group (15-39 years). This is higher than the average for a typical rural population of the country (39.2% according to GLSS 2008). The presence of more of this active age group in the village suggests a lower rate of out-migration. The explanations are that people are deciding to stay home and make their living there or straddling the rural-urban interface (Bryceson et al 2012), or that some who had migrated are returning home to make their living there – i.e. circular migration (Potts, 2008). The most important factor is that Konkonuru is near the towns of Aburi (4 km), Nsawam (10 km) and Accra (12 km) so commuting to these big towns and cities for jobs is easy. Access to the new road, electricity and potable water makes life easier for the villagers of Konkonuru (various respondents, Konkonuru, November 2010). Many said that the youth find it easy to live in the village and they can commute for work and trading to make income, and for higher education. These minimise the rural push factors which leads to out-migration (Potts 2010).

**Table 5.4 Population of villages according to age groups.**

Age group	Konkonuru				Shia				National rural population
	number	percent	female	male	number	percent	female	male	percent
15-29	28	33.4	17	11	33	22.6	25	8	29.6
30-39	17	20.2	8	9	19	13.7	16	3	19.6
40-49	13	14.9	4	9	25	17.3	17	8	15.8
50-59	8	9.3	5	3	20	14.1	12	8	11.8
69 +	19	22.2	11	8	47	32.3	28	19	23.2

**Sources: Survey (2010) and GLSS (2008).**

This situation was exemplified in an interview with the chief's nephew who had been living in Accra, but had returned while keeping his job there. As he explained, 'the new tarred road, electricity and piped water makes the cost of living at Konkonuru better than the city when you weigh the two. Especially on the cost of food and accommodation' (Kodua, interview, Konkonuru 22 November 2010).

These statements explain how development has influenced some of the active population group of Konkonuru who are most likely to migrate but are instead straddling their livelihoods between town and village (Ellis, 1998; Tostensen 2004; Bryceson 2011; Bryceson et al. 2012). Others who are working in the village are engaged with non-farm agricultural businesses (e.g. processing gari, brewing alcoholic gin (Akpeteshie), selling communication items (e.g. second-hand mobile phones, phone



cards). In many cases these villagers have completed a process of circular migration. Thus, they were pushed to the urban area by various factors, especially farming constraints and unemployment, but the changes at the village level have pulled them back to reside and make their living there (Potts 2010).

The share of the most active population group (15-39 years) in Shia is 36.5%, by contrast, is 4% less than the national average for a typical rural community. Mr Avudzivi explained that this was probably due to the widespread migration of school leavers from the rural communities in that region both to Ghanaian cities and destinations abroad every year (interview, Shia, 29 November 2010). Generally, as explained in section 5.3.3, the Ewes (the dominant tribe in Shia) believe that after completing education they must migrate to the urban areas to earn higher incomes so as to improve their socio-economic status and that of the family through remittances (Dugbazah, 2010) and that farming is an occupation for the illiterates (Hardiman 2003). The research also found a higher proportion in the older age group in Shia. Some of these were return migrants. A retired returnee explained that one must return in old age to look after home and to give the younger generation the chance to migrate (Peter Avidzo, interview, Shia 3 December 2010). From table 5.5, this old aged groups form 46.4% of the respondents. They were found to depend on subsistence farming and remittances from relatives, especially children in diaspora (various interviews, Shia, November and December 2010). This situation in Shia reflects how circular migration can be perpetuated by cultural norms.

#### 5.3.5 Changes in livelihoods

To assess the impact of the concept on the livelihoods of the community, we asked respondents who are also economically active (over 15) about their occupation status. Agriculture was still the main source of income in both villages (table 5.5) although the dependence on this was higher in Shia (68.3%) as compared to Konkonuru (51.4%). This could be explained by the fact that there has been a general decrease in agricultural activities at the village. According to Nana Addo-Mensah II, as explained in section 5.3.1 (interview, Konkonuru, 17 November, 2010), Konkonuru had suffered twelve years ago from bushfires, drought and insect infestations for a continuous period of six years. Agriculture in the village has not been able to fully recover from these disasters. People who have limited land or no land were the most affected.

**Table 5.5 Employment status of respondents.**

<b>Characteristics</b>	<b>Konkonuru</b>		<b>Shia</b>	
	<b>Number</b>	<b>Percent</b>	<b>Number</b>	<b>Percent</b>
Unemployed	13	10.8	18	12.8
Agriculture	61	51.4	98	68.3
Artisans	1	0.9	2	1.8
Business/ Petty traders	22	18.4	17	11.5
Government workers	8	7.2	2	1.8
Clergy	1	0.9	1	0.8
Labourer (non-agriculture)	11	9.1	3	2.2
Retired civil servant	2	1.6	1	0.8

**Source: Survey (2010)**

Agriculture is a natural resource-based livelihood which is susceptible to unpredictable environmental events, such as poor rainfall and bush fires. These vulnerabilities often put farmers in Ghana in an uncertain food and income security situation (Anshong 2001). When small farmers with limited land have the choice, they will engage in a diversity of activities and income sources alongside crop and livestock production.

In Konkonuru, the improvements in roads and transport, installation of electricity and water and clinics are providing physical capital to the villagers. This in turn increases their options for diversification. As previously noted some are diversifying from agriculture as a primary source of income to a non-agricultural occupation such as petty trading or commuting to work in the nearby towns and cities while farming is engaged at the subsistence level. Some are engaged in the telecommunication business (selling phone cards and second-hand mobile phones) and have set up offices where people can go to make telephone calls to relatives in the cities and abroad. Others are engaged in petty trading - establishing local convenience stores, selling canned foods, clothing, books and stationery. Some sell locally manufactured drinks as well as imported bottled drinks. The contributions from the two development philanthropists who play a part in these livelihood changes are listed below:

***Electricity and street lights:***

- Telecommunication business;
- Convenience stores with chilled and frozen food;
- Extended hours of trading/working.

***Roads:***

- Commuting to work/trade in the urban areas;
- Transportation business.

***Clinic:***

- Labouring and cleaning work;
- Increase in labour productivity (availability of health care).

***Ecotourism:***

- Labouring work;
- Likely employment, businesses and services.

In Shia, by contrast, not many livelihood changes had been noticed. However there was a decrease in dependence on agriculture. This was explained to be due to shortages of land for rent for non-landholders (tenants) and to environmental factors. According to the chief, Togbe Dzadzawa II, land belongs to only four of the seven clans. Lately, the demands from landholders is making acquiring or leasing a land very unprofitable. Togbe Dzadzawa II cited a recent incident as an example; where a non-landholder brought his dispute with a landholder before the judicial committee. According to the chief, the normal 'abusa' land tenure agreement is that the non-landholder has to give a quarter of the harvest from the cultivated land as payment to the landholder. However, the landholder went back on his agreement and demanded half instead of the agreed quarter. 'Because the land tenure agreements are always verbal it is always difficult to protect the vulnerable non-landholders' (Togbe Dzadzawa II, interview, Shia, 29 Nov. 2010).

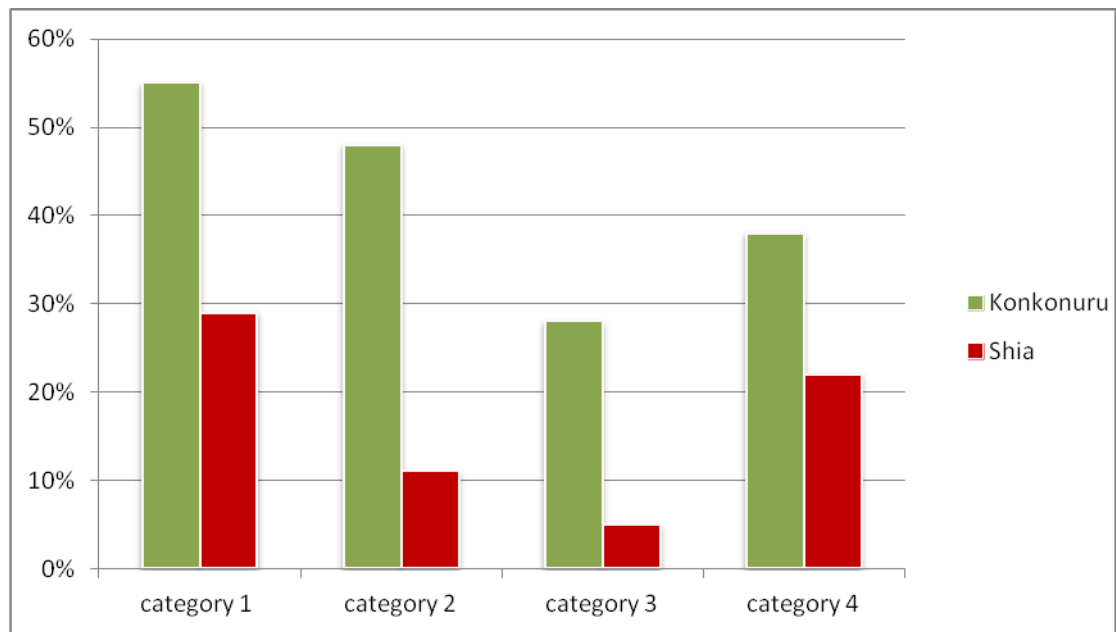
Animal husbandry has also been at a low level in Shia. Animal farmers are often asked to pay compensation as they frequently face disputes with crop farmers. Their animals, mostly cattle, are reared free-range. Because they are very expensive to feed, they are allowed into the forest to graze, but in the process some farms are also destroyed by the animals. For example, herds may feed on the foliage of the cassava plant. According to Justus Avudzivi, the gatekeeper of the village, DANIDA has recently started an animal-rearing project to train farmers on how to keep 'grasscutter' (a big rodent the size of rabbit - the meat is a delicacy in Ghana). This venture could be cheaper and manageable because the animals are kept in cages, eat only grass and need only a small space to rear them. As in Konkonuru, some people in Shia are engaged in petty trading, selling cooked food, phone cards and sachet water (personal observation), as another source of income beside their farming activities.

## 5.4 Communities' participation

The involvement of the people in development processes is the key focus of the emerging rural development paradigm. The World Bank suggests that the role of local leadership in achieving community development is crucial in facilitating and creating a suitable environment to enable the poor to participate in local issues concerning their well-being (Grootaert and Bastelaer, 2002). It is argued that a community's involvement in development affairs depends on how close the leadership is to the people (Baas 1997; Foley 2000). However, 'the concept of participation is quite elusive when it comes to the actual implementation' (Khan 2006:155). To answer the research question and to confirm the hypotheses of the study, this section examines people's perspectives about their involvement in the new concept of development involving development chiefs.

### 5.4.1 People's contact with philanthropists and leaders

FAO (2006) noted that communication is the most important ingredient of rural development, as it serves as a bridge between stakeholders. At the village level, it is necessary for the philanthropist and the traditional leaders to know the needs of the people and to encourage them to participate in development activities. This can only happen through good communication between the stakeholders of this development concept. However communication is a two-way process where feelings and initiatives can be transmitted from the leadership to the people or *vice versa* (Grunig and Hunt, 1984). Reflecting on this theory, contact in this sense means that the people should have the opportunity of freely approaching the philanthropists and the traditional leaders, communicating their thoughts, feelings and demands to them, while in the opposite way the philanthropists and the leaders can confidently be approached to discuss development issues with the people on individual bases through visits, interviews or meetings. With this in mind, we tried to find the upward and downward channel of communications from the villagers' perspectives, with the assumption that the leaders/philanthropists might exaggerate their contacts with the villagers. People were therefore asked about their contact with the leaders and philanthropists and the other way round.



**Figure 5.1 Level of contact between the people and their leaders**

Source: Survey (2010).

Category 1 = People to Philanthropist(s); Category 2= People to Traditional leaders;

Category 3= Philanthropist to people; Category 4 = Traditional leaders to people

Figure 5.1 shows that only a few of ordinary people (29%) are able to have contact with the philanthropists (Category 1) at Shia. And only 5% have been contacted by their philanthropist (Category 3). ‘The only contact I get with him is greetings when he comes here every time’ said an elder in Shia (Kofi Senevor, interview, Shia, 10 December 2010). The situation is different in Konkonuru. There, the two philanthropists have their residences in the outskirts of the village with their families. This makes them part of the community and they share the benefits with them. 54.8% of respondents from this village said they find it easy to contact their development chief and queen in this village, and 28% claimed have been contacted by a philanthropist (Category 3). The most apparent reason people had considerably more contact (in both directions) in Konkonuru than in Shia is that the development chief’s of Shia is non-resident and visits the village of Shia twice a year. One respondent in Konkonuru said ‘We are lucky to have them because they are always there for us and their doors are always open to us’ (Gifty Opare, interview, Konkonuru 18 November 2010). The chief of Konkonuru summed it up ‘They are gift from God to us’ (Nana Addo Mensah II, Konkonuru, 17 November 2010). Mr Kalmoni explained that he has been learning the local language and becoming fluent. This enables him to communicate confidently with the people. Both philanthropists told us that they do not need a gatekeeper or interpreter

to communicate with the chief and elders because many of them do understand, and speak English fluently.

At Shia the development chief (Mr John Lawler) communicates with the chief and the people through a gatekeeper. The gatekeeper is a retired financial controller, who has returned to the village to settle. Mr Lawler describes him as ‘One of the most intelligent personalities I have met in my life’ (interview, London, 9 June 2010). He finds it easy to communicate with him because of his higher educational background, fluency in English and as he is the only one with ICT facilities at home. From the side of the community the chief also explained to us how happy they are with the role of the gatekeeper. However an interview with the gatekeeper and some of the villagers reveals that most of the youths are not in fact happy with this role. ‘He is the only one having access to the development chief’ (Gideon, interview, Shia 2 December 2010).

Contacts between the people and the traditional leaders were also examined (category 2). At Konkonuru, 48% have had personal contact with the main chief through their own effort. And 38% said their chief had contacted them before on good reasons. At Shia there is a low contact level between people and leaders (people-leaders is 11% and leaders to people is 21.7%). A place like Shia where there is low contact between the people and the traditional leaders, the villagers believe that leaders pay little attention to their feelings or needs, especially if they come from a low status clan or family or a very poor background. Villagers explained that it is very unlikely for an ordinary person to be able to see a traditional chief/leader for a particular solution to a community problem. This could be explained by differences in culture. The cultures in the south are institutionalised with a high degree of social exclusiveness. This is a major setback to participation in this concept at the village level.

#### 5.4.2 Awareness of meetings and communal labour

We asked respondents if their villages have had any development meetings. This is because such meetings would set up a forum for the communities to discuss development concerns.

In Konkonuru there is a monthly (first Sunday of the month) meeting, while in Shia people only meet the elders when there is an urgent social problem to be solved. On average 86% of people are aware of development meetings because traditional leaders have a group of men whose duty it is to make announcements for upcoming communal activities. In both villages people confirmed that announcements are made a few days prior to meetings and communal labour. Respondents were then asked if they knew

about the projects being carried out through the efforts of their development chief and queen. Awareness was quite high. 95.4% of respondents from Konkonuru had heard or seen the projects that are initiated by their philanthropists. Similarly, 88.1% from Shia confirm the same awareness. This shows that people are aware of efforts by the philanthropists.

**Table 5.6 Peoples' awareness of philanthropists' projects.**

Answers	Konkonuru		Shia	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Yes	113	95.4	127	88.1
No	5	4.6	17	11.9

**Source: Survey (2010)**

#### 5.4.3 Villagers' involvement in community activities

It is known that awareness by villagers of foreign philanthropist-initiated projects was high, but this does not reflect the level of their involvement in the projects. To assess their involvement, we went further to ask people about their commitment in social and political activities and compared them to their commitment to that of development. At a social level, we looked at their involvement and participation in community meetings/occasions like funerals, religious services etc. In politics we looked at their participation in local elections. This would enable us to ascertain and compare where they are most motivated to participate.

**Table 5.7 Commitment of Respondents**

Commitment	Konkonuru		Shia	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Development	73	61.9	38	26.4
Religion	98	83.1	129	89.6
Marriage	71	60.2	117	81.3
Funeral	97	82.2	126	87.5
Political election	109	92.4	129	89.6

**Source: Survey (2010)**

The result (table 5.8) shows that people are less motivated to participate in development activities than the rest, such as political elections, religious meetings, funerals and marriage ceremonies. High percentages from both villages confirmed that they voted in the last district-level election held on January 2006 in the area. 92.4% of respondents from Konkonuru and 89.6% from Shia voted in the last district level election held in 2008. Though voting could not be taken as a good index for participation (Parry et al.

1992), it gives an idea of how the people are motivated in local democracy provided by the government as against that of the traditional authority which denies democracy.

Reflecting on people's reason for their high participation in the political election, the respondents believe that the elected officials had the potential to mobilise them to actively participate in local governance. Other reasons mentioned by villagers were that some of the electoral candidates are from elites who help them with their socio-economic needs. For example some candidates give the poor loans without interest. They therefore find elections an opportunity to express their appreciation (Mr Avudzivi, Shia, 29 November 2010).

The result also showed that villagers give higher commitment to social occasions and meetings such as religious events – 83.1% and 89.6% are committed to their religion at Konkonuru and Shia respectively. 82.2% and 87.5% , from Konkonuru and Shia respectively, attend funerals frequently. For marriage ceremonies, 60.2% and 81.3% for Konkonuru and Shia respectively. The villagers see these occasions as essential to their social life because there is some form of informal sanction attached to these occasions. They explained that there are some self-help commitments, for example reciprocity, relating to these social involvements (e.g. donations, loans, financial and moral support). Failure to be involved will informally go against the offender as she/he will be neglected by others when she/he is in need. The result shows that the community commitment to participation in development is not as high as for the above mentioned commitments.

#### 5.4.4 People's opinions on development participation

Because low interest in development issues was recorded as compared to other forms of community involvement, we asked the villagers whether they see participation as important in development (table 5.9).

**Table 5.8 Peoples' opinion on participation in development**

Answers	Konkonuru		Shia	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Yes	101	86	115	80
No	13	11	19	13
Do not know	4	3	10	7

Source: Survey (2010).

Most of the respondents from both villages believe that participation is good for development. 86% and 80% of respondent from Konkonuru and Shia respectively, regard community participation as an essential element of development.



Responses in table 5.10 also show that most of the villagers, who felt that participation is important for development projects, also believed that village participation is a cooperative process between the people and the authority. 88.1% of respondents from Konkonuru and 84.7% from Shia back the idea that they will feel ownership of community projects when they are involved. This shows that the villagers acknowledge the importance of participation. However, they would need to be motivated.

**Table 5.9 People's reasons for participation.**

Reasons	Konkonuru		Shia	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Participation leads to our village development	103	87	127	88.1
Community participation is a cooperative process	107	91	110	76.7
I will benefit and feel part of ownership of projects	105	88.1	122	84.7

**Source: Survey (2010).**

#### 5.4.5 Why do people not participate?

As discussed, a large proportion of people acknowledge that participation in development projects is essential. We asked people about what prevents them from getting involved in projects (table 5.11). Almost equal percentage from both villages (Konkonuru = 17.8%; Shia = 15.3%) believed poverty to be the reason. Some blamed the bias and nepotism of traditional leaders (Konkonuru = 11.8%; Shia = 9.0%). Some said that while the traditional authority does make them aware of meetings, it did not do so in enough time for people to prepare. However, 81.3% from Shia said that they are always not aware of a project coming off until it get started by volunteers and this they do not get the opportunity to be involved in the development projects. A teacher said 'We are being provided with what we need like kids looked after by a parent'. (interviewed, Shia, 30 November 2010). This suggests that the people of Shia would like to get involved but do not have the chance<sup>7</sup>.

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<sup>7</sup> I discussed this issue with John Lawler after my fieldwork and he appreciated it and promised to involve the people more. My regular contacts with two teachers at the Senior Secondary school at Shia reveals that people are now being invited to participate in communal works jointly with the gap-year volunteers.

**Table 5.10 People's reasons for non-participation**

Reasons	Konkonuru		Shia	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Do not participate because of poverty	21	17.8	22	15.3
Bias of chief and elders	14	11.8	13	9.0
Unawareness of meetings/communal work	1	1.2	117	81.3

**Source: Survey (2010).**

Those who pointed out that poverty prevents them from participating see communal work as charity. Such people insist they do not have time to work for free.

If I work a whole day free, I will lose a day's meal for my family. I will be better off going to the farm to bring foodstuff to the market (Mr Nimoh, interview, Konkonuru, 18 November 2010?).

Times for communal works always clash with my farm work which is my livelihood. No one will provide for my family if I miss a day's farm work (Kwasi Yeboah, interview, Konkonuru, 2018).

One man (who wished to remain anonymous) insisted that the leaders were biased, explaining that when fortunes were made, only the chiefs and the elites and household benefited. But when communal labour is needed 'we the poor are called first' (interview, Konkonuru, 19 November 2010)

#### 5.4.6 Stages of participation

Having understood the involvement of the villagers, we asked those who said they got involved in projects, about the nature of that involvement (table 5.11). My assessment revealed that villagers are not involved in decision making and planning at all. The people of Konkonuru were more involved in participation than Shia at all the stages. 23% of respondents from Konkonuru claimed to be involved in problem identification, by making suggestions to leaders. At Shia only two persons (1%) admitted involved in problem identification; of which one was Justus Avudzivi, the gatekeeper. In both villages none of the ordinary people were involved with decision making and planning. However, 65.3% of the respondents from Konkonuru, were involved in implementation by providing manpower, land supervision etc. and 22.9% said they had been involved in maintenance/repairs. That means that the level of participation in Konkonuru is higher than that in Shia, which has only 0.2% in problem identification, 16.7% in implementation and 19% in maintenance. In Shia we noticed that project identification, implementation and maintenance were handled through the gatekeeper, philanthropist and gap-year students from abroad. It was noted that the respondents who claimed to

have been involved in implantation and maintenance at Shia were paid to do some errands for the volunteers- cooking, laundry, tour guiding and some said they had befriended some of the volunteers so they got involved and volunteers enjoyed their companies.

Comparing the two villages, the leadership in Konkonuru seems to be more open than that of Shia. This problem could also stem from the effectiveness and quality of leadership which will be discussed in the next chapter. It could also be due to the availability of the philanthropist. This is because the two philanthropists in Konkonuru are more available and that this allows more contact.

**Table 5.11 Participation of villagers at different stages of development projects**

Villages	Problem identification		Decision making		Planning		Implementation		Maintenance	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Konkonuru	28	23.7	-	-	-	-	77	65.3	27	22.9
Shia	2	0.2	-	-	-	-	24	16.7	19	19

**Source: Survey (2010)**

#### 5.4.7 Sharing of benefits

Participation is also involved in the sharing of benefits. Here the benefits to the community and individuals was considered (table 5.13). More than 50% of respondents from both villages acknowledged that their communities had benefited from the improvement to education for children. The development philanthropists from both villages were praised by the people for what they were doing in education. The provision of infrastructure has also benefited them, especially the people of Konkonuru (about 32% acknowledged this achievement). Some of the respondents from Konkonuru mentioned that the provision of piped water, the new tarred road linking the village to the Accra-Aburi road, and the community centre have given the village a major facelift. The chief of the village, Nana Addo Mensah II, boasted ‘even teachers are applying from outside to come and teach at Konkonuru’ (at focus group meeting 15 November, 2010).

**Table 5.12 Communities’ sharing and satisfaction with benefits**

Benefits	Konkonuru		Shia	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Agriculture inputs	---	---	---	--
Children education	60	51	26	4
Employment	9	8	3	2
Housing	2	1.7	--	--
Physical infrastructure	38	32	35	24
Provision of health care	24	23	68	47
Training opportunities	--	--	---	--

**Source: Survey (2010)**

Respondents from both villages also appreciated that their communities have benefited from the provision of health care (Konkonuru = 23% ; Shia = 47%). In Konkonuru, the Rita Marley foundation has built a well-equipped health clinic with medical personnel, while John Lawler has improved the medical facilities in Shia by providing medical volunteers from abroad every year. About 8% of the villagers from Konkonuru said that their development philanthropists have provided them with employment. A woman confirmed ‘I go to Nana hema’s [the development queen’s] house to do some domestic chores for her twice every week. This earns me some few cedis [Ghana currency] for my weekly expenditure’ (K. Addae, interview, Konkonuru, 19 November 2010).

A labourer who is involved in the construction of the ecotourism project remarked ‘Most of us are promised guaranteed jobs when this project finally opens’ (Yaw Ossae, Konkonuru, 19 November 2010).

Significantly, 47% of the people of Shia do not share the view that they have benefited individually. Some explained that despite the improvement in education and the clinic, life is still hard for some of them. However some acknowledged that they might reap benefits in the future from education. For Shia, the people have also not seen any benefit in access to employment yet. As one respondent said:

‘Maybe, in the future the improvement of education will give our children good jobs’ (Victor Agbo, Shia, 4 December 2010).

On individual benefits, we asked villagers if the projects led by philanthropists have had an impact on their quality of life (table 5.14). A high number of respondents from both villages accepted that their life has been improved since the appointment of development philanthropists. 64.8% from Konkonuru believe that the provision of infrastructure, schools and health care have helped them socio-economically. Some mentioned that the transportation of farm goods to the market has been made easier and led to improved income. Petty traders now find it easy to bring essential commodities to the village; they also have access to quality education for their children and receive health care.

**Table 5.13 Improvement to individual quality of life.**

Answers	Konkonuru		Shia	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Improvement	76	64.8	37	26
No improvement	34	28	68	47
Do not know	8	7.2	39	27

**Source: Survey (2010)**

#### 5.4.8 The elite capture at Shia

The role of Justus Avudzivi, the gatekeeper at Shia, demonstrates a significant finding. He positions himself at the centre of the concept there. He offers his time and resources (house, energy and intelligence) towards the success of the concept voluntarily. Because he is the only one who has access to internet he effectively mediates between the people and the philanthropist. He is also the point of contact and information for the gap-year volunteers at the village. This sort of gatekeeping and domination of an interaction between a donor and intended beneficiaries is often assumed, in the literature on participatory development, as problematic. There is a suggestion that such gatekeeping

is inevitably done to promote in an unwarranted way the interests of the gatekeeper and that this will always undermine or limit the benefits for the broader village population. Thus there is a presumption that there must always be a trade-off between the interests of the gatekeeper and the villagers. However this case challenges this type of analysis and suggests that such situations need not lead to a trade-off automatically. In this case both the people and the philanthropist acknowledge that Avudzivi played a benevolent role which helped the positive outcomes of the philanthropic intervention. In other words, his type of 'hijacking' was a positive one. In sum, this implies that not all hijacking is problematic to participation in development as indicated by literature (Kapoor 2005; Desai 1996; Majoux 1995).

#### 5.4.9 Community, politics and participation spaces

On the surface, the two communities look homogeneous. There appears an impression of collective action, cohesive and belongingness. However, the in-depth interview revealed the existence of micro politics in the villages. There are social classification and exclusiveness, especially amongst the clans. The higher clan members and the elites have more influence on the concept than the others. Evidently, respondents mentioned the existence of nepotism, biasness and favouritism but these were not the firm reasons for their non-participation. It was found that the local understandings of the nature of participation are shaped by culture and history. On culture, trust of leadership as the guardians and trustees of their communities, social and economic life, creates different participation spaces and people's degree of involvement. The degree of trust enables the leaders and elites to be actively involved and steer the direction of the concept. While the national history of community mobilisation towards development allows the ordinary people to provide labour and leave decision making to leadership.

It can therefore be concluded that in both villages the concept began with popular space (Cornwall 2005). The entire village in the spirit of oneness and belongingness, took the popular opinion of embracing the concept. However the factors mentioned above shaped the nature of participation thereby creating different spaces for each social group in the concept. The people of Shia moved from popular space to a marginalised space. While the people of Konkonuru moved from popular to consultative space (they are told what leaders have decided to do at participatory meetings).

## **5.5 Conclusion**

In Konkonuru, the development outcome shows considerable success with higher participation by the people, and there is a feeling of self-development, dignity and the prospect of self reliance in the future. In Shia, there is less success, with lower participation and satisfaction from the people. There is a feeling of subalternism. This is no surprise as their needs are not adequately met. Kpone Bawaleshie shows no success because of the non-existence of participation and lack of good leadership, while different philanthropist styles were observed in the villages. In the next chapter we will assess the role of traditional leadership as a factor in development success.

Reflecting on communities' views on development and participation, the results lead to a conclusion that the participation of the people is essential for a successful outcome of this concept. While the effectiveness of traditional leadership facilitates proper administration that leads to the achievement of rural development and the nature of philanthropy by the development chief or queen are also factors in the success of the concept.



## **CHAPTER SIX**

### **TRADITIONAL AUTHORITY AND LEADERSHIP**

#### **6.1 Introduction**

This chapter outlines the nature of the traditional authorities in rural Ghana and explores the role of traditional chiefs in influencing the success of development projects initiated with the assistance of foreign development philanthropists (FDPs). I focused particularly on two study villages, Konkonuru and Shia where primary data have been collected, and draw on additional primary information from other villages visited, including Kpone Bawaleshie where initial observations were made but where we were not allowed to work.

It emerged from the fieldwork that the village communities believed that their chiefs were legitimate leaders in this new concept of development. It also emerged from the fieldwork that the degree of commitment of the chief of a village to the welfare of his community is of key importance in determining the success of development projects involving foreign philanthropists.

#### **6.2 The traditional institutions: culture and values**

From our fieldwork observations and interviews, we found some similarities and differences in the modes of leadership in each of the study villages but all the villages, that is Konkonuru, Shia and Kpone Bawaleshie (where we started working but were not permitted to continue), have one thing in common: each is part of an institution of tradition and as such, is subject to the chieftaincy system.

##### **6.2.1 Identity of the study communities**

A traditional institution is identified by its history, language or dialect, behaviour and culture, and bonded by folklore and taboos (Arhin 1985). There are, therefore, systems of rules, norms, spiritual beliefs and goals upon which institutions have evolved (Rathbone 2000). Konkonuru, one of the study villages, is part of the Akwapim

traditional authority. The Akwapim are known to be Akans, and include the various clans which migrated from the Ashanti area to settle in the Akwapim mountains for security during the Akwamu war of 1733. Therefore, the people of Konkonuru speak the Akan language with the Akwapim dialect (Akwapem in the Twi language). Akwapim state was established in 1733, after the Aburi war, where the Akwapims defeated the Akwamus, capturing their present territory (Hardiman 2000). Akwapim is in the south-eastern part of Ghana (Map 5.2). It is also a part of Eastern Region and Akropong is the state capital. The state of Akwapim which originated from Ashanti has seven main clans namely: Aduana (Abrade), Asona, Agona, Oyoko, Ekuona, Bretuo and Asene.

Shia, the second study village is the principal village of the Shia traditional area (Map 5.4). The village serves as the capital of 14 surrounding villages, its status as the principal village stemming from the history of conquest in the area (Crook, 2005). According to history, the people of the Shia traditional area were largely migrants from the Ewe tribe in Togoland (Togo) who settled in the south-eastern part of what is known today as the Volta region.

Kpone Bawaleshie, the third village where we began working but were stopped, belongs to the Dangbe East Traditional state, but its district, Kpone-Kantamanso is in the Greater Accra region (Map 5.3). The main language spoken here is Ga-Dangbe though most people understand Twi, Ewe and English. According to their history, their ancestors are Dangbe who came to settle there in 1817.

#### 6.2.1 Chieftaincy and hierarchy systems

Two chieftaincy systems are identified in Ghana, the centralized and the decentralized (refer to chapter 3). The study villages, being in the south and part of the centralized, traditional states all operate under the first system. In centralized states the paramount chiefs are the overall leaders of the traditional institutions. The chief of Kpone Bawaleshie is a grass roots chief under the Dangbe Traditional Area. The chief of Konkonuru is also a grass roots Chief under Akwapim Traditional Area and the chief of Shia is the Paramount Chief (Fiaga) of Shia Traditional Area/ State.

Under the system of ruling by the three traditional authorities each has an administrative structure consisting of the chiefs, queen mothers, clan heads, elders, *asafo* (youth groups), and traditional priests. This system forms a paramountcy in every traditional state. A paramountcy is an administrative structure, operating through councils of chiefs at different levels and for different purposes. The Chief (village leader) possesses

powers in two different forms: spiritual and political. In all the villages the people believe that their chiefs have powers of divinity bestowed upon them by the ancestral gods of their land (Busia 1968; Arhin 1985; Rathbone 1993). They also have powers to act as leaders conferred on them by the community.

Konkonuru traditional authority comes under the Akwapim state institution. The institution is organised in military fashion as the terminology in the table below suggests (Table 6.1).

**Table 6.1 Positions of chiefs in Akwapem State.**

Divisions/Titles	Paramountcy	Principal town
First in command	Akropong	Akropong
Second in command	Adonteng	Aburi
Nifahene (Right wing chief)	Okere	Okere
Benkumhene (Left wing chief)	Larteh	Larteh

**Source: Hardiman (2000)**

The line of royal inheritance in Konkonuru is matrilineal but on the male line. The chiefs are selected from one royal clan, the Aduana (*abrade*) clan where the Queenmother has the power to appoint and destool despot chiefs. The chief of Konkonuru plays an important role in the Adonteng district within the much larger and over-arching Akwapim paramountcy. The chief of Konkonuru is the Kingmaker or the Gyaasehene of the Aburi stool. With such a position he always has to take part in the District meetings of elders. However, the village has no significant or direct influence in the Akwapim State as it has never had a representative on the council at Akropong. Under the chief are sub-chiefs. Table 6.2 shows their positions and duties.

Shia and Kpone Bawaleshie are also ruled by a hierarchy of chiefs. For Shia the main chief is Togbe Dadzawa III. There are 4 major clans with sub-clans (Table 6.3).

The succession of the Shia chieftaincy is through a patriarch, on the male line. If there is no male heir, an acceptable son of a daughter of the royal house may be enstooled. Chiefs are selected from two royal clans on a rotational basis. The head of the royal clan in power can appoint and destool a despot chief in Shia.

**Table 6.2 Positions and responsibilities of sub chiefs in Konkonuru**

<b>Sub chiefs</b>	<b>Responsibilities</b>
Queen Mother Usually sister or sister of maternal uncle	Equal authority as chief, advises the chief. Has freedom and traditional power to scold and deal with the chief if he deviates from his duties. She selects and nominates candidates for a vacant stool. Can determine a candidate's legitimacy. She is also in charge of women and oversees their interests.
Kurotihene Head of the original settlers of community	Opposition leader
Adontenhene	Responsible and commands the main troops to defend the people in case of attack.
Akwamuhene	Responsible for lands and revenue
Nifahene	Commands right wing of the army
Benkumhene	Commands left wing of the army
Kyidomhene	Leader of the rear guard
Ankobeahene	Responsible for safety and security of the village when men are at war
Okyeame	Spokesman for the chief
Nkwankwaahene	Spokesman for the commoners in the village
Chief Priest/Priestess	Religious leader whom people look up for signals of omens and admonition by gods.

**Source: Fieldwork, 2010****Table 6.3 Positions of sub chiefs at Shia.**

<b>Positions</b>	<b>Roles</b>
Fiagbe (2 sub-clans)	Front wing Known as warriors
Hedome (4 sub-clans)	The kingmakers
Anyiegbe (3 sub-clans)	Left wing
Gbagbate (5 sub-clans)	Right wing

**Source: Fieldwork (2010)**

#### 6.2.4 Position of Development Chiefs and Queens in Authority

Essentially, development chiefs and queens are sub-leaders in charge of the development and welfare of a village. This position is not one of lineal heritage though he/she should be a member of the village or have a close association with it. Most importantly, development chiefs and queens do not have to be Ghanaians, this is a major difference from most other positions in the traditional ruling hierarchy. The role of the development chief or queen is to generate financial resources for community development, and being a comparatively new position, these chiefs and queens are not subject to customary regulation, nor are they subject to the same sorts of political pressures faced by the regular chiefs. Appropriately, the powers of development chiefs and queens are limited to matters of 'development'. They have no spiritual component as this responsibility falls only on the overall chief of the village. People respect the position and know where to locate it in the chiefly power hierarchy. This position allows the village leadership to engage with the world of development (Steegstra 2006).

The title of development chief or queen is an honorary one, conferred on someone as a reward for their good deeds and as recognition for their contribution towards development in the community. John Lawler, a British subject, spent a gap year in Ghana improving education in Shia. The chiefs and elders were so impressed by his efforts that they conferred the title of development chief on him, and later, his wife was made development queen of Shia. Lindsey Kaufman (US national) had also spent four years with an NGO in Kpone Bawaleshie, helping to improve health and education. Samir Kalmani (Lebanese) had shown concern and interest about Konkonuru and its development when he bought land there for his business. This was before the authority entrusted him with the title of development chief. Rita Marley (Jamaican, wife of Bob Marley), also declared her interest in local welfare after settling in the outskirts of the community of Konkonuru. She had mobilized women and children, and motivated them to participate in communal work before the title of development queen was conferred on her.

Although the role of development chief lacks the power of traditional chiefs, based on links with the ancestors and cultural spirits, the ceremony to install a development chief

or queen is elaborate and is intended to inspire the newcomer, and to motivate them to use their influence, riches and connections to help improve the quality of life for members of the village community.

### **6.3 Traditional leaders and the FDP concept**

#### **6.3.1 Roles and powers of village chiefs**

In the pre-colonial era, the chiefs as rulers were there to guide, protect, defend and provide the needs of society (Ray 2003). Most of the roles were military. The military roles of the chiefs at that time were necessary because of the frequent incidence of inter tribal war and the need for protection of land from conquest by rivals. During the colonial era, the government was able to manipulate and subdue their powers and chiefs became tax and levy collectors for the state government (Rathbone 2000). In the early post colonial era, the independent governments were usually less than enthusiastic about acknowledging the importance of traditional chiefs and queens in their society, and they were sometimes described as ‘useless’ and ‘outmoded’ (Ray 2003; Owusu-Sarpong 2003). However, after the introduction of grass roots participation by the government in the late 1980s/ early 1990s (Odotei, 2004; Odotei and Awedoba 2006), the traditional system of chieftaincy was again recognised, the powers of traditional chiefs were revived after years of being dormant, and they are now again a significant part of village life.

Drawing on the fieldwork, I can confirm that chiefs are once again influential in local politics as they are formally recognised. Traditional institutions were given status in the 1992 constitution of Ghana, and as a consequence, the people expect their chiefs to participate in an advisory capacity in the governmental administration of the district and within local communities. However, they are not formally allowed by the constitution to actively participate in party politics (Ubink, 2008). In spite of this, over the past decade, chiefs have become more influential and powerful in national, district and local politics. The people still see them as father figures in their communities, and as one district assemblyman commented in an interview:

“It is better to be in the good books of the chiefs in your district, so that you can always maintain your electorates” (Mr. Osae Bredu, Assemblyman of Konkonuru, interview, 22 November 2010).

In our focus group discussions (FGD) with the chief, sub-chiefs and elders of the study villages, the district assembly representative for each village (known as the

assemblyman) was also present. This shows how they find it important to work in harmony with the chiefs. After introducing their district assemblyman to us, the chief of Konkonuru commented:

“We told the people to put him there [his office] and they listened to us. This man is very easy to work with and has also got soft ears” (Nana Addo Mensah II, interview, Konkonuru, 17 November 2010).

This explains how the chiefs, through the assemblymen, can influence politics in Ghana. A survey by Ubink (2008) found that respondents believed chiefs are politically more powerful than MPs. The position of chieftaincy has therefore become very popular and attractive that people of higher social level such as academics, civil servants and businessmen are competing for it (Crook et al 2005, Brempong 2001, Ray 1992, Rathbone 2000).

Mr. Kalmoni, the development chief at Konkonuru described how the influence of the chief enabled the village to secure help from the government. As an example, he cited the assistance they had received with the provision of machinery for the reconstruction of the road from the village to connect them with the main Accra-Aburi road.

In our FGD with the people in the villages, participants stressed that they expected their chiefs to contribute to the socioeconomic lives of the individual citizens and also, to help the FDPs. Based on what they emphasized, the roles expected of them that are very relevant to the concept are discussed in the sections that follow:

- Securing land for development projects
- Hunting for resources for development
- Custodians of culture, traditions and values
- Mobilizing village people to assist with development projects

Each of these roles is now discussed in sub-sections below:

#### *6.3.1.1 Securing land for development projects*

Essentially, there are two ways in which land is held: stool land and family land. Stool land is owned by and is under the authority of the traditional institution, while family land belongs to a particular family in a clan. The ownership of family land is passed from generation to generation and although traditionally there was no legal tenure, traditional institutions do not have the power to use such lands without permission from the family owners (Kofi Asiedu, interview, Konkonuru 20 November 2010). At

Konkonuru, most of the lands are stool land. Bawaleshie had limited stool land and all had been sold by the traditional authority some decades ago. At Shia there is no stool land. In the Ewe states, where Shia is located, the traditional authorities do not own land. Fieldwork revealed that the people believe that it is the responsibility of the chief to reserve land for future community-based projects such as schools and roads. However, this depends on the resources of the traditional institution. Land availability was thus found to be critical to the establishment of community development projects. In Kpone Bawaleshie, a problem with gaining access to land for development projects led to a dispute between the chiefs and their development queen and this was one of the reasons for her abdication (as discussed in Chapter 5 section 5.2.2). .

In contrast to Kpone Bawaleshie, land for projects at Konkonuru was provided by the chief from stool land. Those projects which encroached on family lands were negotiated and replaced with stool land by the chief (Nana Addo Mensah II, interview, Konkonuru, 17 November 2010). Because of this availability, land was not a problem to the project budgets at the village. In another case that occurred at Shia, land for a public latrine was provided by a clan owing to the unavailability of stool land. This ended up in conflict between the clan and the authority because the clan was claiming ownership and restricting members of rival clans from using the facility (Elaine Lawler, interviewed, Newcastle, 22 September 2010). To diffuse the conflict the FDPs decided to build three more public toilets for the remaining clans. There have been stories of conflict over land entitlements between clans and families, authorities and family/clans. Accusations of corruption have been made and there has been litigation. However, such issues are beyond the scope of this thesis which focuses on philanthropy and development.

#### *6.3.1.2 Hunters for development*

Chiefs, being representatives of the people serve as points of contact for governments, NGOs and investors. The pursuit of development has now become one of the roles of the chief. From our interviews the people indicated that the chiefs are expected to raise funds for projects. This proved to be the hardest of all their roles. That is why they need the office of development chief or queen as a sub chief to help raise funds for projects to improve the wellbeing of the community. Some community chiefs, especially those who have lived and worked in Western Europe or North America are themselves capable of raising funds to initiate projects. They do so by using their experience and



networks abroad. Such chiefs seem less interested in installing a foreign development chief or queen.

As an example of a chief who has initiated development by his own effort, I visited the chief of Kenkansa, Nana Korankye Prempeh II, in the Central Region (Map 3.1). He was introduced to this project by his nephew who was part of the Ghanaian diaspora in the United Kingdom. The opportunity was taken by the researcher to visit his village, to find out how he was faring without help from either the government or their development philanthropist (whom he alleges had not been active). Nana Korankye Prempeh II is a migrant returnee from the United States. He has a university degree and has been exposed to concepts of development through his education and his sojourn in United States for 18 years. He admitted that he had been able to raise funds from personal resources, from his network of contacts among Africans living and working overseas, especially in America, and also from rich Africans living in cities in Ghana. Money had also been raised from the sale of stool land and annual fund-raising from all the citizens of the village. This has enabled him to lead the people to build offices and accommodation facilities, all of which have encouraged the establishment of banks, a police station and also a local health clinic in the village. In his interview he told his story:

“ I had just returned from America to succeed my late father who was the chief in 1999. One morning, after I had had my breakfast, I was standing in front of the small palace and I saw a farmer being carried on a bicycle towards the main muddy and impassable road. He has been bitten by a poisonous snake and needed immediate medical attention but there was no car to send him to the nearest clinic which is about 26 miles away. When they were about 10 metres from where I was standing the patient fell from the bicycle and died instantly. I felt very sad and it was the first terrible experience I had had as a chief. I felt we needed some facilities that would help my people to live like human beings. As I had just returned from the United States, I contacted some of our citizens whom I know in the US and UK and told them of my experiences here. They responded brilliantly by first forming hometown associations. They put things together and started raising funds for projects that would ensure some essential facilities were made available here. We needed a clinic and also a bank for the commercial farmers. The elderly farmers had been subjected to robbing by the youth due to unemployment so before a bank could be established we required a police station in the village. With their help we put up a big building with offices and accommodation for bank clerks, police officers and medical personnel. We also had to provide attractive fringe benefits to convince these personnel to come and live here. The community agreed to provide them with foodstuff from their farms every weekend. This was their participatory contribution. And now, we look forward to starting the resurfacing of our road, linking us to Swedru (the nearest big town) when our next funds become available.” (Nana Korankye Prempeh II, interview, Kenkansa 12 December 2010).

The above is a chief who has a network of connections with members of the African diaspora in the United States. He has used this opportunity and his experience to attract funds for development projects in his village in Ghana. Where such resources are not accessible to other local chiefs who have no transnational networks like Nana Korankye Prempeh II, the appointment of philanthropists may be an alternative for raising funds for community development. This is because there is little or no help available from the government or from other local sources. According to Ray (1998) chiefs with a good educational background are better able to ‘hunt’ for development effectively, than those chiefs who have not had the benefit of a formal education.

The chiefs of Konkonuru and Shia are literate, both having had a middle school education. However, they have had different types of employment which have given them very different experiences which, observation by the author suggests, has influenced their capacity to generate funds for development. The Konkonuru chief was a civil service clerk with the Mineral Marketing Board in Accra. He has experience in relating to different people and is confident when it comes to articulating his ideas about the needs of his people to potential funders. By contrast, the chief of Shia who has had no experience in the civil service, has had less exposure to outsiders. Hence he finds it easier to rely on a mediator (turned gatekeeper) to explain the needs of his people to outsiders and to ask for their help. It was particularly interesting that the chief of Bawaleshie was illiterate and needed an interpreter to communicate with the development queen. Almost inevitably, salient points in discussions would be missed and communication between the chief and development queen was poor. The chief’s eldest son was all too often the translator and this placed himself in a position of power, influencing relations between his father and the development queen, and their success in achieving development projects for the village. Chiefs who actively hunt for development for their people tend to make progress, as Nana Addo Mensah, chief of Konkonuru explained;

“If you wait for the government to come and develop your village for you, you must be prepared to wait for 100 years. Communities who are not relying on the government for development are doing very well and are much better off than those waiting for manna from the government.”  
(Nana Addo Mensah II, interview, Konkonuru, 17 November 2010).

The researcher’s observations confirmed the views of Nana Addo Mensah II. For the most part, the people involved in the FGDs were supportive of their chiefs in their efforts to develop links with foreign philanthropists (as discussed in chapter 5).

### *6.3.1.3 Custodians of culture, traditions and values*

In West Africa the traditional chief of a village is believed to have a divine quality which connects him with the spirits of the ancestors. He looks to the welfare of the ancestors, the welfare of his people in this life, and the welfare of his people in the future. The sub-chiefs who are generally not thought to have divine powers look up to the chief regarding advice on divine rituals, and all this is done within the guidance of the fetish priest. This link with the divine places the chief well above others in the village and is the basis of his authority (Busia 1951, Hagan 2003, Ray 2003). In section 5.3.1.1, we found from Ghana Living Standard Survey 2008, that 9.2% believe in traditional religion, 66.6% are Christians, 4.1% are Muslims, 16.6% are for the other religions. Although only about 10 per cent claim to believe in the traditional religion/s of the community, Ubink (2008) suggests that many people still hold to their local cosmological views, norms and values which define the role of the chief including his authority. Ubink (2008) argues along similar lines, drawing on a quotation from Ray (2003):

“...the basis of the respect accorded to the chief is not only that the chief derives his power from the people, but also that the stools, skins and other symbols of office which have a spiritual significance - the chief deriving his power from ancestors and mediating between the people and the ancestors (Ray 2003:7 cited by Ubink 2008).

Based on these beliefs the people entrust the custody of local traditions and culture to the chief. The decision to install foreigners into chieftaincy positions has been questioned by politicians and some academics (Bob-Milliar 2009). Despite the criticisms and concerns our survey showed in section 5.3.1, the people from the villages who were involved in our FGDs still supported the idea of installing outsiders as chiefs of development. The fact that these newly installed chiefs of development are political instruments with no connections to the divine makes them acceptable to local people. Nevertheless, it is very much appreciated by the community when FDPs do show their respect for traditional values and culture.

This research asked the respondents how they expected their traditional leaders to handle the FDPs' attitudes to traditions, traditional values and culture. Participants in the fieldwork were asked whether they agreed or disagreed with the statements listed.

**Table 6.4 Respondents' expectations of chief's influence on FDPs on culture and values**

Statements	Konkonuru		Shia	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Encourage the FDPs to observe traditions culture and values	86	72.7	122	84.2
Exclude the FDPs from knowledge of traditions, culture and values	28	24.3	17	12
Don't know	4	3	5	3.8

**Source: survey (2010)**

The results in table 6.4 show how the people still hold firm to tradition, values and culture. The vast majority believe the chief should be accountable in encouraging the FDPs to observe the traditions and values of the land. 72% respondents from Konkonuru and 84.2% from Shia expect that their leaders are should help the FDPs to adapt to the local culture and traditions. This will depend on how successful the chiefs are in explaining to the FDPs the importance to the community that they, the new chiefs of development, accept village traditions and culture, and adopt traditional practices, at least while they are in the village. This also explains the extent of their support for the idea of installing a foreigner as a development chief or queen. The results are a further indication that the people welcome the participation of these foreign philanthropists in their traditions and culture. There was a feeling of pride among the people of Shia at a durbar of villages held at Shia, when they saw John Lawler in their traditional regalia (per. obs. 30 November 2010). All the foreign development chiefs we interviewed also expressed their respect for the traditions of the land and institutions they are holding through their appointments (section 7.6.3). I visited the chief of Shia in his palace with John Lawler, the development chief and four volunteer gap year students, on 29 November 2010. We were served dinner with drinks but Mr Lawler was separated from us and moved to a private room as chiefs are not allowed to eat in the presence of non-chiefs, according to their tradition (pers. obs). John Lawler explained to his British friends that this was a tradition that he had to observe as part of his role as development chief. John's readiness to learn and observe such local traditions eases the burden of responsibility on the village chief to ensure that traditions, culture and values are not degraded. If Shia is an example, John Lawler's respectful attitude towards local Ghanaian traditions and culture is clearly promoting a good working relationship between the FDPs, the chiefs and the people, so enhancing the success of the concept of the foreigner as chief of development.

#### *6.3.1.4 Community mobilization by the chiefs*

The chiefs also explained that they play a significant role in mobilizing people and organizing communal labour. Nana Addo Mensah II (chief at Konkonuru) explained that he has formed a group of men who serve as his messengers. When communal labour is required, he instructs them to announce this publicly and also to inform people from household to household in the village (Nana Addo Mensah II, interview, Konkonuru, 17 November 201). As to how representative the chiefs are, they both believe that they were put in their respective positions by the people and they try to act accordingly to meet the expectations of the majority. Knowing the priorities and expectations of people in their village, they can effectively play the role of mediator between the other principal stakeholders, the FDPs and the people. Nana Addo Mensah explained that if anything goes wrong through the involvement of foreign philanthropists in development projects, people will hold him accountable (Nana Addo Mensah II, interview, Konkonuru, 17 November 2010).

#### **6.3.2 How traditional authorities (chiefs and sub-chiefs) see themselves in relation to the concept of FDP**

The nature of the institution of chieftaincy has changed over time. In the past, brutal inter-ethnic wars saw chiefs occupied with military issues but now, in times of relative peace there are few disputes between tribes and traditional states. The military structures of the chieftaincy institutions have thus evolved into institutions of development and hospitality. In the fieldwork, although we found that some of the sub-chiefs had titles relating to defence, they were in reality now responsible for very different duties which bore no relation to their titles. For example, the Adontenhene of Konkonuru, who should be responsible for mobilizing and commanding troops to defend the village in times of war. is now in charge of 'Men's Affairs'. Similarly, the chief, as head of the institution is the main person representing the village people and it is he who engages with the philanthropists. The chiefs thus play a key role in advising the philanthropists on their development and cultural responsibilities. Nana Addo Mensah II (chief of Konkonuru) explained that, "Someone should always be there to advise them [FDPs] on how they can integrate successfully into our culture. I needed to teach them how to put on the regalia, how to greet people in our language and how to behave so that they can effectively engage with the community. They also find me as a point of enquiry and help if anything bothers them" (Nana Addo Mensah II, interview, Konkonuru, 17 November 2010).

At the same time as being the main points of contact with the FDPs, the chiefs are required to know the priorities of the people so that they can articulate them to the philanthropists. Togbe Dzadzawa (chief of Shia) added that a chief must know the different priorities of the various sections of the community, so that peace and harmony can be maintained and everyone may benefit from the concept (Togbe Dzadzawa II, interview, Shia, 30 November 2010). The chief can also play the role of administrator of the concept. Nana Addo Mensah (Konkonuru) explained that the administration of the institution was already in his hands before the concept was adopted and so he feels it right that the administration of development work should continue within the administrative structures that exist (Nana Addo Mensah II, interview, Konkonuru, 17 November 2010). But, that was not the case at Shia. The administration of the concept is in the hands of the gatekeeper, Justus Avudzivi. This is for linguistic and skill reasons. Mr. Avudzivi is highly educated and the only one in his household who has access to a computer. This enables the FDP to connect to the village daily and Mr. Avudzivi is the one who communicates messages between the chiefs and the FDPs, and as such is in a strong position. There was less need in Shia for the chief to mobilise labour because, as explained in chapter 5, the FDP imported labour in the form of volunteers who worked with village people. The presence of the volunteers thus meant that fewer inhabitants of Shia were required to work on the development projects.

## **6.4 Effectiveness of the chiefs' leadership**

### **6.4.1 Focus group impressions**

One of the key factors that influence the outcome of projects is leadership. Leadership in this sense means the ability to motivate a group of people in the same situation to achieve a common goal or desirable outcome. There are general qualities of leadership required of every leader everywhere (Kottack, 1991; Madeley, 1991). However, the nature of leadership in the chieftaincy in Ghana is different as leaders are selected specifically from one particular clan. A chief who is a leader may be powerful because he derived his position from spiritual and historic sources and these guarantee his legitimacy. However, he may not be a good leader. In asking the people in our focus group discussions what made a chief a good leader, immediate responses included: the nature of their chiefs' relationship with the people; their abilities, and their way of ruling. Three specific criteria were developed for the assessment of the chiefs in the two villages:

- Their capacity to motivate and inspire people to undertake community work.
- The extent to which they were good examples to the village people, ie good role models.
- Their capacity to know and understand the needs of the people at present, and in the future.

Participants in the fieldwork were then asked to assess their leaders using these criteria (Table 6.4).

#### 6.4.2 Abilities of leaders

The statements in the table below are the criteria used to assess the abilities of the chiefs in the two villages, Konkonuru and Shia. People were asked whether they agreed or disagreed with the statements.

**Table 6.5 Abilities of Chief (traditional leader).**

Statements	Konkonuru		Shia	
	Number	Agreed (%)	Number	Agreed (%)
1. The chief is able to motivate and inspire us for community work	52	43.8	46	32.2
2. The chief set good examples for us all	77	65.3	98	68.1
3. The chief knows the needs of the people now and future	90	76.5	95	66.2

**Source: survey (2010)**

In Statement 1, less than 50% of respondents from both villages claim that their chiefs have the personality to inspire and are able to stimulate people to achieve the outcomes of project goals and aspirations. Some believe that a chief should be able to inspire and motivate his people. The results suggested that the chief of Konkonuru possessed more of these qualities (43.8%) than the chief of Shia (32.2%).

In the second Statement, more than 50% of respondents from each village believe that their chiefs set good example to them; they are people to whom the majority look up. Respondents believed the chiefs have good characters and are strong father figures in guiding them through every project in the villages. There was little difference between the chiefs of both villages in this regard (Konkonuru = 65.3%; Shia = 68.1%). Taking a lead in community participation, especially the organisation of communal labour demonstrates the chief's ability to inspire his people and through this he can set a good example as a strong role model. The villagers at Konkonuru mentioned how their chief had been involved in various projects which required the use of communal labour, such as street lighting, road construction and the construction of drainage systems.

With regard to the third Statement in table 6.5, we asked how good the chiefs are in knowing the needs of the people at any time. Significantly a number of the respondents from both villages (76.5% from Konkonuru and 66.2% from Shia) claim their leaders had those qualities and that it was this strength which had enabled them to secure development chiefs and queens in their villages.

An additional indicator relating to statement 3 which was mentioned in the focus group meetings was how responsive the chief was to their requests and concerns. A positive response was appreciated as it suggested that the chief really did understand the priorities of members of the community, and had these at heart. We would add, however, that within a community there are always many priorities, and inevitably, there are always some who will be disappointed. On balance, however, an average of around 71% in response to Statement 3 suggested that most felt that their chiefs did understand their needs, and did have them at heart in establishing appropriate development projects.

A farmer said in an interview:

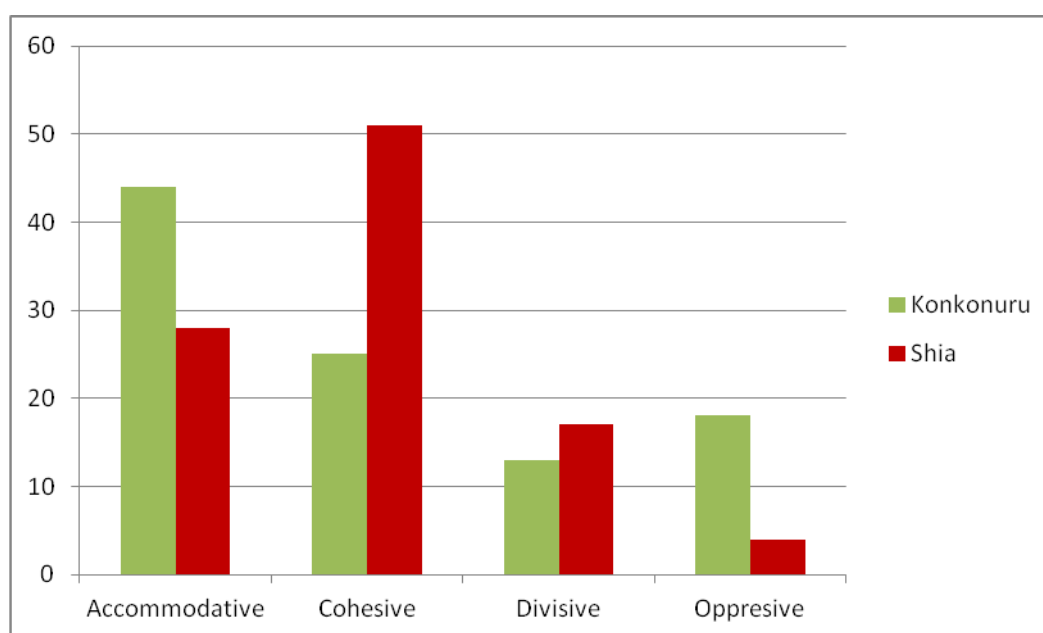
“Decisions by them [Traditional Authority] should be on behalf of the people and should respect the will of the people. They should respect and deal with complaints and concerns that are brought to them as soon as possible” ( Kwame Nuamah, Konkonuru 25/10/2010).

#### 6.4.3 Relationships between the leaders and the community

Leaders need interpersonal skills. They need to be able to interact with the different stakeholders in a positive way to ensure a good outcome from their vision. For leaders to reap a collective action that can enable them to attain social capital and community



development (Grischow 2008), leaders must ensure a healthy relationship in their personal and administrative style of ruling. From my personal rural experience in Ghana, the first leadership quality, which a rural community member will not hesitate to discuss with an outsider is his/her (leader) relationship with the people. In the survey respondents were asked about their opinion of the kinds of relationship their leaders have with the people (figure 6.2). A bar chart was used in this case rather than a table because it illustrates the data more effectively.



**Figure 6.1 People’s opinion on traditional leaders relationships.**  
**Source: Survey (2010)**

The results showed significant differences between the two villages. The chief of Shia seems to be perceived as a cohesive leader (51%) while approximately 28% saw him as accommodative, both fairly positive attributes. Some 17% saw him as divisive and only 4% as oppressive. Though the pattern differs, the chief of Konkonuru was perceived principally as accommodative (43%), while some 25% saw him as cohesive. This indicates that both leaders have just over 50% of positive vote. Respondents from Konkonuru voted just under 70% , and almost 80% in Shia. Thus both were perceived positively. Though neither was seen as particularly divisive or oppressive, a higher proportion saw the chief of Konkonuru as being divisive (13%) and oppressive (18%), whereas fewer from Shia perceived their chief so negatively (17% divisive and 4% oppressive). Discussions during the survey revealed that the two chiefs had different types of relationships with the people and the responses to their style in some way do reflect the level of participation in the development projects in their villages.

#### 6.4.4 The legitimacy of village chiefs to act as mediators in the concept

Respondents were asked in the survey to agree or disagree with the statements in table 6.6 in regard to the level of legitimacy and suitability of their chiefs to negotiate on their behalf for development projects with FDPs.

**Table 6.6 Respondents' assessment on chiefs' performance as leaders of development projects**

Statements	Konkonuru		Shia	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
1. I Support decisions on development projects	75	63.6	98	67.1
2. I agree that the chiefs are transparent in regard to money matters on the project	37	31.4	85	59.3
3. I trust the chief <i>because</i> he is the leader	73	61.9	96	66.7

**Source: survey (2010).**

Statements 1 and 3 show a level of consistency between the two villages. These Statements also show how strongly the people view the legitimacy of the chiefs. 63.6 % of the respondents from Konkonuru and 67.1% from Shia claimed they support the chiefs on decisions they have made on development projects. And, 61.9 % from Konkonuru, 66.7% from Shia claim to have unconditional trust in their chiefs. However, this does not imply that they accept or agree to every decision they make. We found in chapter five, how some respondent complained of the biasness of their chiefs.

With regard to Statement 2, only 31% of Konkonuru's sample of respondents accepted that their chief was transparent in regard to money matters on development projects. The corresponding figure was much higher in Shia, where almost 60% of respondents agreed that there was transparency. Discussions with the Shia community suggested that this might be because of the positive influence of John Lawler and the involvement of volunteers in the village development projects. The gatekeeper, Mr. Justus Avudzivi rather than having a negative impact, as many gatekeepers can have, was perceived by John Lawler as a 'man of vision' and someone who greatly facilitated the functioning of the development projects. It is argued that communities with social exclusiveness and non-elected leaders can be undemocratic and will always be susceptible to low levels of transparency, and as a result, weak accountability. Comparing their positions with

government appointed leaders or representatives, the people are easy on the traditional chiefs on issues of financial accountability to their communities.

At some point of the fieldwork, I felt that the people in both villages are subject to the traditional authorities. However it was clear from the focus group discussions that these authorities are not necessarily perceived as providing good governance as their subjects are not empowered, especially the youth. It was felt that the chiefs were not using the full potential of their leadership for the benefit of the village communities.

Respondents were also asked about how responsive their chiefs were on issues relating to development (table 6.7).

**Table 6.7 Chiefs' (traditional leader) Responsiveness**

Statements	Konkonuru		Shia	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Have you / known of someone who has reported a community problem to the chief?	32	27.1	42	29.9
How long did it take him to respond?				
(a) Few days	4	3.1	43	30.2
(b) Two weeks or more	41	34.4	64	44.2
(c) Not at all	74	62.5	37	25.6

**Source: Survey (2010)**

We found that the traditional authority in Shia was quicker to respond to problems relating to development projects than in Konkonuru. In Shia, some 30% of participants claimed that the chief had responded within a few days, and over 73% in a few weeks. In Konkonuru, some 62.5% of participants responded that no action had been taken at all. People in Shia seemed justified in believing that their chief was a problem solver and fairly quick to respond to community problems.

## **6.5 Analysis: culture and the concept**

### **6.5.1 Traditional authority and governance**

It did not take long to become aware of the levels of social exclusiveness in all the villages we visited. Leadership positions and priorities are given to particular groups in line with social class, gender and age. In Konkonuru and Shia villages, traditional leadership roles are inherited or passed on to male successors. As a result, women are excluded from leadership positions (except the queen mother). Youths who have leadership potential, from non-royal clans, have a limited chance of becoming leaders.

The leadership positions are reserved for a selected clan. At Konkonuru, only a member of the Abrade clan (one of seven clans), can be selected (Nana Aboagye, interview, Konkonuru, 21 November 2010). At Shia, members from the Adzovia and Bate sub-clans (from the Fiaga main clan) are selected on a rotational basis (Justus Avudzivi, interview, Shia, 29 November 2010). Social exclusiveness makes politics and participation in the concept seem biased and undemocratic. In the Human Development Report (2002), the UNDP used the concept of governance to discuss the achievement of development outcomes. One example of the outcomes is poverty eradication. UNDP defined what it meant by good governance:

“Good governance, among other things, is participatory, transparent and accountable. It is also effective and equitable. And it promotes the rule of law. Good governance ensures that political, social and economic priorities are based on broad consensus in society and that the voices of the poorest and the most vulnerable are heard in decision-making over the allocation of development resources. Governance has three legs: economic, political and administrative. Economic governance includes decision-making processes that affect a country’s economic activities and its relationships with other economies. It clearly has major implications for equity, poverty and quality of life. Political governance is the process of decision-making to formulate policy. Administrative governance is the system of policy implementation. Encompassing all three, good governance defines the processes and structures that guide political and socio-economic relationships” (UNDP, 2002:12)

The above definitions do not specifically mention the kind or type of leadership/authority that should, or can deliver good local governance. However, there are some common ingredients in the definitions that need to be analysed in comparison with the practices of traditional authorities so that we can assess whether the cap of good governance fits traditional authorities. From the definitions things that must be in place as a requirement of good governorship are legitimacy, social inclusiveness, responsiveness and transparency. The question is whether social exclusiveness matters to the people. This depends on their acceptance of the institution – legitimacy.

It was found that the customs, values and norms of the villages and their internal structures were formed hundreds of years ago, in pre-colonial times. At that time, only traditional leadership existed. Because society changes overtime, it could be that these norms and values have also changed from the original ones. As communities have dual governorship with the state at local community level, and have been exposed to foreign religions and lifestyles, it is likely that some of the norms and values will have changed to accommodate modernity. However, details as to how communities had changed over time were not available, not least because there are no written records of the villages’ pre-colonial past.. All facts are from oral history and while this would surely be a

valuable source of information, exploration of this rich source was beyond the scope of this thesis. All we wished to do was to establish the legitimacy of traditional leaders in their role as leaders of development in relation to FDPs. We needed to establish whether they were accountable and responsive to the demands and the needs of the major stakeholders - the people and the FDPs?

The answer to the question of the legitimacy of traditional leaders to lead people in projects with FDPs is positive from the research. The fieldwork revealed quite clearly that the chief is perceived as a legitimate leader by his people.

With regard to the second question on accountability and responsiveness, the results of the fieldwork were less clear. From table 6.6 it is clear that people support the chiefs in their role as decision-makers, seeming reasonably confident that they understand the needs of the people (table 6.5), however, when it comes to the level of financial transparency of projects, the chief of Shia was clearly held in higher regard than the chief of Konkonuru where some 31% of respondents had confidence in the level of financial transparency in development projects, leaving almost 70% unhappy with the situation (table 6.6). But even in Shia where around 60% felt that there was transparency, a significant 40% of respondents felt that financial transparency of development projects could have been greater, so things were far from perfect in either village. It is interesting that financial transparency is greater in Shia. It is possible that this might be related to the more modern approach to development of Shia's traditional chief, the highly educated gatekeeper, Mr Avudzivi, and the driving force of John Lawler whose involvement in the village is not purely philanthropic but for business which effectively funds Shia's development projects. In Konkonuru, where the traditional institution dominates, leadership positions are inherited and retained for life and because of the acceptance of the traditional system, there is little pressure on those in power to be accountable.

Although we have focused here on Konkonuru and Shia, it is notable that in Kpone Bawaleshie village (where we were not permitted to work), the issue of a lack of financial transparency has arisen and currently, a pressure group is emerging in attempt to force greater accountability by the leadership.

### **6.5.2 Traditional leadership and social capital**

Social cohesion of rural communities is the foundation of community development (Grischow 2008; Bebbington et al 2006; Woolcock 2004). At Konkonuru and Shia, I observed that trust, networks and norms were much in evidence in the communities. These bind people together to give one voice. This binding social capital could be the catalyst for their collective action on supporting the traditional authorities in the decision to appoint foreigners into the traditional institutions (pers. obs.). Strong social capital also helps the traditional authorities to legitimate their power. Hence, I find the majority of village peoples' trust and respect of their leaders to be unconditional. It is this trust and respect which allows these leaders to play a leading role in directing development in the village through a Development chief or queen.

There was a degree of belongingness, association and friendship in the villages while individualism and competition were observed as well among families, clans and even age groups. A woman at Konkonuru complained "the Abrade [royal clan] members always want to be considered first in everything; from decision making to facility sharing and they always get what they want" (respondent, interview, Konkonuru, 22 November 2010). A factor that does make this situation worse is that clans and families are separately located in different part of the villages, and this was more distinctly observed in Shia. These clans are only mixed with migrants. An elder at Shia explained how this has created a barrier to inter-clan marriages in the village (respondent, interview, Shia, 01 December 2010). The chiefs, as observed, are able to overcome the potential problems posed by these differences between families and clans through community norms and sanctions. This is because the community norms and sanctions favour the tradition of social exclusiveness on clan groups, especially when it comes to sharing community interests (Lyon 2000). Social exclusiveness is increasingly being challenged, and while in the past such challenges could be suppressed reasonably easily by the traditional authorities with the use of sanctions, the opposition is becoming more vocal and rebellious.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> Sanctions may demand that the party who has offended the chief should appear in front of the elders of the village with a pure white goat, difficult to find and very expensive. This must be presented before a hearing will be granted and the inevitable apology of the offender is accepted.

### 6.5.3 The Chiefs' interests and elite capture

Much of the success of development projects which are initiated with assistance from FDPs is dependent on the attitude and degree of self-interest of the village chief. During the collection of information for this thesis, it was found that the chiefs seemed to fall into two groups with regard to their attitude and level of self-interest: first where the level of self-interest by the chief was high, the development project could result in a negative outcome for the community. The second type of chief was much more committed to the welfare of his people and this attitude was more likely to result in a development project having a positive outcome.

In the first case, benefits could accrue predominantly to the chief and his immediate associates or cronies. This would include the biased sharing of resources, opportunities and benefits to which the whole community should be entitled but which would be amassed by the chief who would use his position to gain access to them. Because there are limited checks on accountability and transparency chiefs are very susceptible to corruption. In such situations the chiefs put their own interests first, before that of the community. To give one example, the chief of Konkonuru selected his less qualified niece for a scholarship. This scholarship was offered by one of the FDPs, Mr Kalmoni, to train a native of the village as a teacher. I was at the meeting as an observer. However, the chief personally insisted to the research team, after the meeting that he was going to nominate his niece for this opportunity. Though the chief's niece, after her training, will bring benefit to the community in the future, the selection was not on merit as there were a few school leavers around who may have been better qualified for the course. Owing to the very traditional administrative structure of Konkonuru where the chief is held in high esteem, no one contested this decision.

This is an example of 'elite capture' as noted by Kumar and Corbridge (2002). Here the benefits and opportunities go to the elites first, before the community finally benefits from them (Adedayo 1985). However, it also shows how social exclusiveness and nepotism can play a part in this development concept. It should be noted that this form of elite capture is different from that of Justus Avudzivi at Shia, discussed in Chapter 5. In his case he donates his time and other resources to do the hard work of arranging and coordinating between stakeholders and this is genuinely, for the success of the project.

There was also evidence of elite capture which would never benefit the community even in the longer-term. Jane Goldsmith, development queen for Akoasi in the Central region reported in an interview that she had collected some funds from donors and wanted to make them available for projects in the village. She first met the chief and the elders to discuss and prioritize the needs of the village. To her surprise the chief told her outright that she should buy him a private car before any project could start in the village. She quoted him:

“ I will not allow any project to happen unless you buy me a car first” (Jane Goldsmith, interviewed, London, 20 June 2010).

Here the self-interest and opportunism of the chief are evident. And, the community will not benefit from such self-interest. A clan can also be an elite group to capture a community's opportunities, especially the royal clans. The chief and gatekeeper at Shia were accused of following their own interests by giving their clan greater advantage than the rest (respondents' interview, Shia, November –December 2010). They were blamed for building the public bathroom, the first project by a development chief, in the area predominantly settled by the ruling clan. This created tension between the clans after the dominant clan group captured the infrastructure, making it less accessible to the others. This diminished the interest of some of the community members in this concept of development via a foreign philanthropist (respondents' interview, Shia, November –December 2010). But not all chiefs are as self-interested as the one described by Jane Goldsmith (above). The chief of Shia, for example, expressed that he was committed to maintaining the allegiance of his people and the power of legitimacy he had received from the people. For these reasons he would always put the interest of his people first. He said: “You must know the concerns, interests and demands of the people on every issue in the community so that you can keep them happy all the time” (Togbe Dzadzawa II, interview, Shia, 29 November 2010). It is possible that this was no more than lip service to honesty but it shows how the leader regards the allegiance of the people as a highly desirable factor in the maintenance of his power.

On the other hand, the requests of the people for a specific development project might not be appropriate at a particular time and the chief would have to deal with this skilfully, using his leadership qualities. Nana Korankye Prempeh II of Kenkenso mentioned in an interview that he always liked to discuss development interests with the people so that they would know what was appropriate, why it was important and thus why it should be prioritized for the community. He pointed out that discussing such



issues with the people eliminates conflict of interests, youth rebellion and questions on accountability and transparency (Nana K. Prempeh, interview, Accra, 23 October 2010). Some chiefs are also very interested as to how their names will be recorded in history. Nana Addo Mensah of Konkonuru stated that: “I want my achievements and the way I ruled to be record in this village history in a positive manner. The people know that I always listen to them, and their interests are my first interests” (Nana Addo Mensah II, interview, Konkonuru, 17 November 2010). Here, the fear of judgement by posterity is his concern. When contrasting interests come into play, the chief must prioritise which one must come first and convincing the majority of his followers of this will draw heavily on his skills as a leader.

#### 6.5.4 Challenges to the chiefs from pressure groups

There has been an increasing level of knowledge and education of youth in rural communities. Ghana Statistical Survey figure from 1995 shows that literacy rates are increasing markedly in the rural areas as well as the urban areas.

**Table 6. 8 Adult<sup>9</sup> literacy in English and Ghanaian language (%)**

Location	GLSS3 (1995)	GLSS4 (1998)	GLSS5 (2008)
Urban regions	65.3	67.8 (4% increase)	75.4 (11.2% increase)
Rural regions <sup>10</sup>	40.0	46.4 (16% increase)	51.4 (10.8% increase)

**Source: GSS (1995, 2000, 2010)**

Knowledge has also increased with the improved accessibility to the media in the rural areas. Villages have free access to international channels such as CNN and Aljezeera, and newspapers now reach the villages every day (pers. obs.). Information available to rural communities, therefore, is no longer out of date. Besides these factors, Ghana has been enjoying a good democratic political system since the 1990s. These factors are beginning to influence the youth groups who are increasingly challenging the antiquated political practices, attitudes and norms of the traditional institution. Therefore, the leaders are likely to face pressure from the youth. In the past, it was an affront to request the chief to account for how and why decisions were taken and funding expended. However, over the past few decades and the growth of modern attitudes,

<sup>9</sup> Adult means 15 years and over.

<sup>10</sup> Excluding the rural savannah which is not part of research cover area.

leaders are now expected to be transparent and accountable in their dealings, and to provide a positive outcome to such ventures as development projects.

If the chiefs and the institutions are to survive, they must combine tradition and modernity. Hence this concept of rural development with the aid of FDPs, is a platform and an opportunity for traditional chiefs to prove themselves and demonstrate their relevance in the struggle to achieve rural development.

To ensure their relevance, the chiefs will need the ability to respond positively to the demands of their people who have diverse needs and demands. Some are immediate and some are long term. For example the installation of electricity was highly prioritized over the building of a community centre at Konkonuru. The traditional authority thus has to be able to assess the needs of the people, prioritise them and gain the support of the community so that they can negotiate effectively with the philanthropist on behalf of the people.

#### 6.5.5 Chiefs: agents of development?

The role being played by traditional leaders has won them the description of ‘agents of development’ (Ray, 2003; Ubink, 2008). They essentially operate as mediators between the philanthropists and the communities. The philanthropists expect the traditional leaders to be ambassadors of the villages, communicating the needs of the people. If they fail to do this there is the possibility of a collapse of the concept. The philanthropists will doubt their representation and credibility. Equally, the communities will also expect their leaders to be custodians of their collective interests. Increasingly, community members are able to articulate their interests and demands and exert pressure on their leaders on development issues as their level of education and knowledge and development awareness have increased lately in the rural areas.

In pursuit of the expectations and demands of the philanthropists and the communities, the self-interest of some traditional leaders could even change and revolve around sustaining legitimacy and preservation of their position. This will depend on their ability to negotiate effectively between the demands and interests of the communities and the philanthropists. The pressure from the two sides, the philanthropists and the communities, therefore, is more likely to push the leaders to become agents of development and even to execute good governance.

## **6.6 Conclusion**

From the fieldwork it was clear that the chiefs were perceived as the right people to lead their communities in the concept. They were not always perceived to be perfect, particularly with regard to responsiveness, and social exclusion still makes many feel uneasy. However, in the villages of Konkonuru and Shia people acknowledged that the quality of their lives had improved as a consequence of the projects funded by FDPs and attributed a significant part of the success to their chiefs for the following reasons: the chiefs are the key brokers of the concept on behalf of the people, with the philanthropists. They also serve as the main point of contact between the philanthropist and the people in most cases, except where there are gatekeepers who act as mediators between the chiefs and the philanthropists. They are, therefore, the legitimate representatives of the people, thus putting them in a situation where their performance could determine the success of the concept. On the one hand, they must serve the interest of the philanthropists in order to keep the flow of financial resources coming into the village; on the other, they must serve the interests of the community as the people expect the chiefs to be custodians of their collective interests. Depending on whether the two interests are conflicting or of the same tendencies, the chiefs are required to perform and that will effectively link the philanthropists and the people to ensure a positive outcome for rural development projects.

## CHAPTER SEVEN

### THE IMPACT OF FOREIGN DEVELOPMENT PHILANTHROPISTS

#### 7.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the research findings about foreign development philanthropists including their perspectives on the practice of creating ‘development chiefs’. These philanthropists are also known as *nkosuohene* (male) or *nkosuohemaa* (female) in some rural communities in Ghana. The chapter begins by reviewing the information available on the incidence of the phenomenon of foreign philanthropists using both primary and secondary sources. It then discusses various understandings of their duties and the impact they are having on rural development. Lastly, the chapter reflects on how their activities relate to more conventional practices of ‘development’.

#### 7.2 Survey: Identifying development philanthropists in Ghana

A number of foreign development chiefs were identified and interviewed for this thesis and brief details on these are provided in Table 7.1 and Plate 7.1 shows their photos. Table 7.2 provides a list of all the other foreign development chiefs who were identified via research using secondary sources.

**Table 7.1 Profile of interviewed development philanthropists**

<b>Philanthropist</b>	<b>Village in Ghana</b>	<b>Nationality and Residence</b>
John Lawler Stool name: Togbe Morttey Age range: 25-40 years	Development chief at Shia (Volta region)	British. Self employed (runs a gap year travel company), lives in Newcastle, United Kingdom.
Elaine Lawler Stool name: Mama Amenyo Nyowu Sika Age range: 25-40 years	Development queen at Shia (Volta Region)	British. Runs gap year company with husband, John. Both live in Newcastle, United Kingdom.
Lynne Symonds Stool/Skin name: Poanaba Age range: 51-60 years	Development queen at Mamprusi (Northern )	British. Retired educationist. Lives in Norwich, United Kingdom
Humphrey Barclay Stool name: Nana Kwadwo Ameyaw Gyeabour Yiadom Age range: 60+ years	Development chief at Okwahu Tafo(Eastern)	British. Retired television producer, lives in London. United Kingdom
Jane Goldsmith Stool name: Nana Esuantsiwa Age range: 60+ years	Development queen at Akoanso (Central )	British. Development consultant, lives in London, United Kingdom
Kathry Prosser Stool name: Nana Bimpoma Age range: 25-40 years	Development queen. Endwa ( Central)	British. Training consultant. Lives in Essex, United Kingdom
Samir Kalmoni Stool name: Nana Kwadwo Asabere Age range: 51-60 years	Development chief at Konkonuru (Eastern Region)	Lebanese. Chief Executive of Papaye Restuarants. Live at Konkonuru, Ghana.
Rita Marley Stool name: Nana Afua Adobea Age range: 60+ years	Development queen at Konkonuru	Jamaican. Musician. Lives at Konkonuru, Ghana.



**Plate 7.1 Samir Kalmoni Development Chief for Konkonuru**



**Plate 7.2 Rita Marley the Development queen for Konkonuru**



**Plate 7.3 Kathryn Prosser the Development queen for Endwa**



**Plate 7.4 Humphrey Barclay the Development chief of Okwahu Tafo**



**Plate 7.5 John and Elaine Lawler the Development chief and queen for Shia**



**Plate 7.6 Lynne Symonds the Development queen of Mamprushie**



**Plate 7.7 Jane Goldsmith the Development queen of Ankoaso**

**Table 7.2: Profiles of other foreign development philanthropists.**

Name	Nationality	Profession	Stool name	Village	Region	Year
Heidi Frontani	American	Academic	Mother KadoI	Kpoeta	Volta	2009
William Wood	American	Businessman	Togbe Agbetsi	Aflao	Volta	2008
Rod McLaren	Canadian	Business	Nana K Amoako	Edubiase	Central	2007
R Hassel-Thompson	American	New York Senator	Nana Adobea	Akwamu	Eastern	2007
Major M Battison	American	Embassy Attache	.....	Mafi-Anfoe	Volta	2007
W.E. Carrington	American	Business Mongul	Nana Osei Mensah	Agona	Ashanti	2006
Anthony Williams	American	Mayor of Washington	Nana K. Amissah II	Elimina	Central	2006
Sir Bob Geldof	British	Musician	Nana Kumasa	Ajumako Besiase	Central	2005
J Constantine Hill	Caribbean	Musician	Nana Osei Kwame I	Aburi	Eastern	2005
Roger Gillman	British	---	.....	Mankoadze	Central	2005
Philip Waterworth	British	VSO/teacher	--	Agona	Western	2004
Christine Rafaei	Dutch		Nana Odosu	Akropong	Eastern	2004
Rev. J A Wright	American	Priest	Nii Afotey Oblum	Katamanso	Greater Accra	2003
Lindsey S Kaufman	American	Development Volunteer	Naa Korkor Amen I	Kpone-Bawaleshie	Greater Accra	2003
Michaëlle Jean	Canadian	Governor - General	-----	Golingu	Northern	2002
Arthur Paes	Dutch	Business Tycoon	Torbui Dunenyo	Somey	Volta	2001
Dr Perry Kirklin	American	Academic	Nana Baffoe	Kuntu	Central	2001
A.G. Hillard III	American	Academic	Nana Baffou Amankwatia II	Mankraso	Ashanti	2000
Henk Otte	Dutch	Construction	Togbe Korsi Gapketor II	Mepe	Volta	2000
W.W. Noble	American	Academic	Nana K. Berko	Akwasiho-Kwahu	Eastern	1996
Isaac Hayes	American	Musicians	Nene Katey Ocansey	Ada	Greater Accra	1992
Kim Schoon	Dutch			Manya Krobo	Eastern	na
Kenneth Bearl	Dutch		Nana Otu Danquah	Kenkenso	Central	na
Hans Buser	Switzerland		Nana Toku II	Konongo	Ashanti	na
Peter Schweizer	Switzerland		na	Paga	Upper East	na
Arie Van der Wiel	Dutch		na	Elimina	Central	na
Maurits Verhagen	Dutch		na	Hweddiem	Brong Ahafo	na

Sources: Bob-Milliar ( 2009 ), Ghana News Agency and Ghana.com



### 7.3 The making of foreign development philanthropists

#### 7.3.1 Links with migration and language

The FDPs were found to originate from a number of different countries, with the majority (32) originating from OECD nations. The nationalities included Americans, Dutch, British, Swiss, Canadians, Jamaican and Lebanese. Of these, 24 were men and 11 were women. It is probable that there are more FDPs in Ghana than listed here. Steegstra (2006) claimed to have recorded 54 FDPs but I was not able to substantiate this information from him because he/she does not provide their names, identities or information on the villages they were helping. Table 7.3 provides data on the number of FDPs that I could confirm through my research using both secondary sources and personal interviews

**Table 7.3 Development philanthropists by place of origin**

Country of origin	Number	Official language in philanthropist's country	Population of Ghanaian migrants in philanthropist country of origin (estimated)
United States of America	12	English	69,995 (2006)
Britain	9	English	57,172 (2006)
Netherland	7	Dutch and English	12,196 (2007)
Canada	2	French and English	17070 (2001)
Switzerland	2	French, German, Italian and Romansh	unknown
Jamaica	1	English	unknown
Lebanon	1	Lebanese	unknown

Sources: IOM (2009); Bob-Milliar (2009); Various newspapers

There are 22 different languages in Ghana, with the official language being English. Language is one of the factors that determine the destination of migrants and for this reason, most Ghanaian migrants are found in English speaking OECD countries (IOM, 2009). The number of the philanthropists from a particular origin is evidently related to the population of Ghanaian migrants in the philanthropists' country of origin or

residence (see Table 7.3) and the native language of the philanthropist. The combination of these two factors would logically increase the chances that potential philanthropists will meet Ghanaians and become acquainted, and acquire knowledge about Ghanaian culture and the state of poverty. The United States of America and United Kingdom are known to have the highest populations of Ghanaian migrants and English is their official language; these countries have been the source of most of the development philanthropists. From their stories told to me or derived from secondary sources, it was found that many of the philanthropists had met or had a form of relationship with a Ghanaian abroad. This gave them some knowledge about the country and their respective villages. For example, Humphrey Barclay, a retired television producer, became the development chief for Okwahu Tafo after attending the funeral of his late friend Asante Gyeabour (Interview, London 19 May 2010). He had been friends with Asante Gyeabour for about seventeen years (BBC Radio 4, *“It’s my story- White Chief Humphrey”*, 07 May 2012). During this time he became acquainted with his late friend’s family who are also royal members. They made him development chief because of the interest he showed toward the town. Perry Kirklin, an academic, from Pennsylvania, USA visited Ghana as a tourist and to learn more about the home country of his Ghanaian friend. While in Ghana, he visited his friend’s family at Kuntu. At the village, he became acquainted with the family and then with the traditional leaders, who then made him development chief. Isaac Hayes, a world famous musician, became the development chief of Ada after he married a native of Ada, a Ghanaian village, while living in America. This relationship together with the knowledge he gained through a number of visits to Ghana motivated him to take the role as development chief. In a similar fashion, Rod McClaren, a Canadian teacher, became development chief in New Edubiase, after he had married a migrant from the town who lives in Canada, Saskatchewan.

### 7.3.2 Conferred chieftaincy titles: honorary and ‘call for duty’

Although many foreigners presume that the conferment of titles in Ghana to people who have no traditional rights to those titles operates in the same way in all cases and there are no distinctions, Ghanaians identify two different meanings – an honorary title and one that involves a ‘call for duty’.

It was found that the conferment of honorary chieftaincy title actually began about two decades before the Asantehene first introduced the specific concept under study here:

the ‘development chief’ title implying a ‘call for duty’. Before then honorary titles were given to people, including foreigners, as a reward for their contribution towards development. Steegstra (2006) cited following examples; Jimmy Moxon, who served in the British colony in Ghana was given Ankobeahene of Akwapem South in 1960. Hans Roth, a Swiss who had lived in Ghana from 1948 and married a Ghanaian woman was made Ankobeahene at Kokoben (Ashanti Region), the hometown of his wife.

Honorary titles are common throughout the world. For example, the titles “Sir” and “Dame” are conferred on British and Commonwealth citizens who make valuable contribution to their countries by the Queen of England. This act of recognition is no different from that of traditional leaders in West African countries, including Ghana. They use royal titles, for example “chief” or “queen”. In West Africa, honorary titles are commonly conferred to those whose philanthropic acts are brief, temporary or “one-off”. However, the concept of development chief, which this research is focused, as proposed by the Asantehene is different in that there is a sense of responsibility implied as is, in fact, suggested by the word ‘development’ in development chief/queen”. Nana Prempeh of Kensaso in the Central Region explained:

“In these modern days when the title is conferred on you, the people see it as an honour and responsibility as well. You are expected to be in charge of development. It is like being a minister for development for the community. The expectations of the people are high because they want to see their aspirations come true by your efforts”(Nana Prempeh: interviewed, Accra, 23 October 2010).

These examples show that FDPs need to be made aware of which title they are being given and the expectations attached. They need to know the responsibilities of the title and the seriousness of the communities. All the development philanthropists interviewed confirmed that they are now aware of their responsibilities in community development and say that they feel honoured to hold their chieftaincy titles. Some of the FDPs admitted that at first they did not understand their role, because the traditional authorities were not clear and straight forward (various sources). But they soon recognized the expectations of them from both the leaders and the people. Nana Prempeh of Kenkenso suggested that this lack of initial clarity was one of the cunning ways used by traditional authorities to commit the philanthropists to this position, as

they (traditional leaders) are not sure whether their first approach to the philanthropists will be successful (Nana Prempeh: interviewed, Accra, 23 October 2010). Mr. Humphrey Barclay knew of his responsibility only after he had accepted the proposal from the traditional authorities (interview, London, 09 May 2010). However, he admitted that he 'felt flattered and honored'. It was found that the excitement and fascination of being installed as chiefs and queens, in African regalia was a big attraction that lead some FDPs to make the commitment. Amongst the philanthropists who were interviewed, none of them expressed by words or body language any regret about their commitment to their role. Lynne Symonds explained that she felt "blessing for getting the opportunity to help the poor" (interview, Norwich, 17 June 2010).

### 7.3.3 Steps towards philanthropy and chieftaincy

The research found that there were similar patterns in the stages that lead to the appointment of an FDP across Ghana: initial contact with the community, solicitation by the people, decision making and installation into chieftaincy.

#### 7.3.3.1 *Initial contact*

All the philanthropists interviewed indicated that they had initial contact with the leaders who briefed them about their villages. John Lawler and Kathryn Prosser both completed gap year volunteer services in their respective villages. They stated that they got some knowledge about the situation of their villages and had become aware of the villagers' perception that every white man could be a source of the essential resources they would need to develop their villages - funding, human and physical resources.

Jane Goldsmith, Lynne Symonds and Humphrey Barclays had their initial contact with their villagers through social interactions. Jane Goldsmith knew that her unknown biological father was linked with the village of Akoanso. In an effort to search for her father, she came to the village and was helped by the traditional leaders to trace him. Lynne Symonds' connection to Mamprusi started at an Education Conference in Tokyo, Japan. It was here that she met Ibrahim Mohammed, a Ghanaian teacher and they subsequently became friends (interview, Norwich, 17 June 2010). Ibrahim informed Lynne about the poverty situation in the rural communities of Ghana. As a result she started sending used books to the village and helped them build a library. She later visited the village to verify the impact of her books. She was impressed to see the library had been named after her (ibid, Norwich, 17 June 2010).

Business can also provide the initial contact. Samir Kalmoni and Rita Marley came in contact with Konkonuru village through business. Mr. Kalmoni contacted the traditional authority for the purpose of purchasing land for vegetable farming to supply his chain of restaurants, Papaye Restaurants. His residency in the area and his friendship with the traditional leader led to his appointment (interview, Konkonuru, 19 November 2010). Rita Marley also had a similar contact experience. She built a music studio in Jankama, a village near Konkonuru and after that she also became a resident in the area. This brought her contact with the people of Konkonuru (interview, Konkonuru, 21 November 2010).

Literature indicates that Isaac Hayes, Stevie Wonder, Henk Otte, Kenneth Bearl and Rod McLaren all came into contact with their villages through their Ghanaian wives (Bob-Milliar, 2008).

#### *7.3.3.2 Solicitation by Communities*

As discussed in chapter 2, the rural community in Ghana has the perception that foreigners, especially ‘the white’, are rich. From my interviews, it was found that rural communities have also often lost hope of getting help from the government. They find the concept of ‘*Nkosuohene/hema*’ a helpful idea. Nana Prempeh of Kenkenso replied when asked about their preference for foreign philanthropists:

“the people here are looking forward to days that their village will have facilities that are being enjoyed by the cities. The present and past governments have failed to help us. Even a white man who is not rich can help us to get contact outside for the improvement of our quality of life” (Nana Prempeh, interview, Accra 23 October 2010).

All the philanthropists interviewed explained that they had no idea about the concept, when they were first approached by community leaders about this:

“I was on my way to the airport to catch my flight back to the UK, when Justus, the spokesman of the traditional leaders called me on the phone to discuss this unknown idea with me. I asked for time to think about it. I spent the hours of the flight thinking about it. I loved the community and the village. I also found it an honor, to lead them in development” (interview with John Lawler, May 2010).

Jane Goldsmith stated that the people came to her when she visited the village the third time and proposed that idea. She explained:

“I love my father very much and I found it an honor for his village to come out with this idea. There was no way I was going to reject this offer. At least I am back to my roots” (interview with Jane Goldsmith, London, 21 June 2010).

Rita Marley explained how the people appreciated her first initiative to help the school children there (interview with Rita Marley, Konkonuru, 21 November 2010). The village leaders saw her willingness to help women and children in the community. Nana Addo Mensah, the chief of Konkonuru, explained:

“we saw the initiative and leadership quality in her. Becoming part of our community, we gathered the courage to approach and propose the idea to her and she did not hesitate to accept it” (Nana Addo Mensah II, interview, Konkonuru, 19 November 2010).

Humphrey Barclay and Samir Kalmoni discussed similar stories of how the elders approached and proposed the ideas to them. Often it is very difficult to ignore solicitations, especially when you fall under the pressure of a peer; or if one has a previous knowledge of the plight of the poor community (Lee & Farrell, 2003).

#### *7.3.3.3 Considerations and decisions*

All the philanthropists had to evaluate the position before they accepted. Combination of factors are known to motivate them to accept their roles. Among these are altruism, communitarianism, religion, values and personal satisfaction.

Rita Marley believes that the spirit of altruism and a sense of personal accomplishment led to her decision. She felt compassion for the plight of women and children in the village and also felt that she is contributing to where her cultural roots are (Rita Marley, interview, Konkonuru, 21 November 2010). The altruism factor was mentioned by all the philanthropists interviewed, showing how powerful this factor is. John Lawler also mentioned ‘communitarianism’ as a factor that influenced him. He passionately loves helping communities. He therefore saw the offer as an opportunity to fulfil this dream. Mr Lawler has gone on to get involved with more communities in Thailand, Fiji, India and Kenya (John Lawler, interviewed, London, 16 May 2010).

Samir Kalmoni is a devoted Muslim who believes his religion motivated him to do what he is doing at Konkonuru. He stated that his sense of altruism stems from his religious values. Islam urges its believers to have compassion and be generous to the poor (interview with Samir Kalmoni, Konkonuru, 19 November 2010). Followers of Islam believe that doing what God has commanded you to do will bring blessings, including

riches and good health to you and your future generation. No other interviewees highlighted religion as a motivational factor for becoming and FDP.

Lynne Symonds highlighted personal values besides her altruistic belief. She noted that she had always believed in social justice and equality for women (Lynne Symonds, interview, Norwich 16 June 2010). This motivated her to accept the position as development queen of Mamprushi.

## **7.4 Effectiveness of foreign development philanthropists**

### **7.4.1 Availability of funding**

This is the most influential factor for commitment to the position. All the philanthropists interviewed seemed to have ideas about what the people need. However the pace of solving the development problems evidently depends on the funds available. A lack of funds can cause a break in the relationship with the village (pers. obs.).

The chief of Kenkenso explained that their first development chief left the post because of lack of funds (Nana Prempeh, interview, Accra, 23 October 2010). He had not understood the position and what it entails. According to the chief, he had thought that his position was associated with the Ministry of Development and that he was going to use the people's own resource to help the development of their community (ibid). This resulted in him being disapproved by the people and he became disinterested in the role. The philanthropists with higher incomes were found, unsurprisingly, to be quicker in funding a project or responding to a need. Mr Samir Kalmoni, the development chief for Konkonuru, was able to deliver projects quickest. This is because he does not need to raise funding from elsewhere being a wealthy individual who is known to be one of the richest Lebanese businessmen in Ghana. He owns a high quality and respected restaurant chain in Ghana called 'Papaye' Restaurants. This facilitates his ability to invest in his village. He is sufficiently wealthy to draw on his own resources and need not rely on decisions from fund trustees:

“I do not need to raise funding from somewhere to do philanthropy and everything I do for my people at Konkonuru is from my own pocket”  
(interview with Samir Kalmoni, Konkonuru, 19 November 2010).

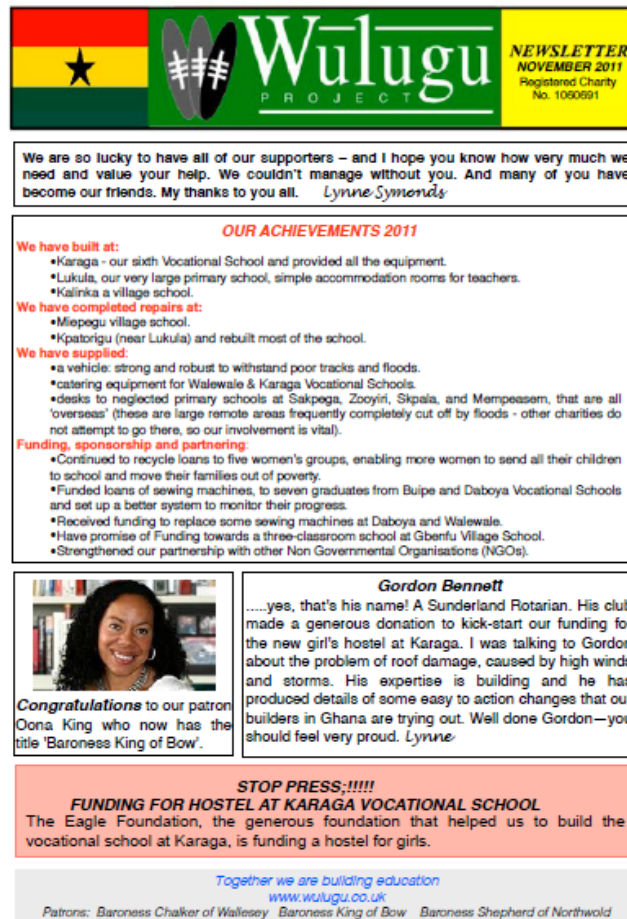
The remaining five philanthropists interviewed have had to operate differently. They have set up charities in their country of origin where donations are collected in the form

of money, clothes and books to be sent to the village. All of them confirmed the effectiveness of this mode of raising funds (various interviews). The following are their various charity websites: [www.friendsoftafo.org](http://www.friendsoftafo.org), [www.endwa.org](http://www.endwa.org), [www.anonadevelopment.co.uk](http://www.anonadevelopment.co.uk), [www.ritamarleyfoundation.org](http://www.ritamarleyfoundation.org), [www.madventurer.com](http://www.madventurer.com), and [www.wulungu.co.uk](http://www.wulungu.co.uk).

Samir Kalmoni's colleague at Konkonuru, Rita Marley, raises money through the Rita Marley Foundation and Bob Marley Foundation. Her personal wealth is mainly derived from the music royalties of her late husband, Bob Marley, the world famous reggae artist. Of the three research villages, Konkonuru is the most developed and had the most satisfied community members. The simple fact that their FDPs are wealthier and able to fund projects quickly could be one of the reasons. John Lawler raises funds through the Madventurer Foundation which he has run for nine years. He stated that most of his projects were funded by his organization (John Lawler, interviewed, London, 16 May 2010). The foundation raises funds through gap year volunteering schemes. Lynne Symonds works hard to raise money to fund projects. She has a registered fundraising charity in the United Kingdom (Lynne Symonds, interview, Norwich, 16 June 2010). She also raises funds by giving talks about her new found role in Wulugu at functions and on radio (in Norfolk and Sunderland), book sales and coffee mornings. She also prints fliers and booklets that provide information about her village, culture and the extent of local development needs. Jane Goldsmith raises funds from friends, family and public talks.

Lynne Symonds also issues a quarterly newsletter (Figure 7.1) updating donors who contribute to her projects at Mamprushi (Wulugu and surrounding area). These reports mainly cover progress on projects observed in her recent trips to her village and letters from her village. She also uses the newsletter to express thanks and appreciation to donors and to urge others to donate. She confirmed that these have all proved to be effective ways of raising money for projects. Sports and entertainment activities have also been used to raise funds.





**Figure 7.1: The November 2011 newsletter issue from Lynn Symonds and her group to donors.**

Humphrey Barclay's last fund-raising activities (in 2011) were a concert and raffle in Hackney and a cycling marathon along the west coast of Ghana to his village at Kwahu Tafo. In the two years up to 2011 he had a deal with Virgin Atlantic to secure cheap flights for those who participated in the cycling fundraiser (interview with Humphrey Barclay, London, 09 May 2010). He also raises funding from an organization he has set up, Friends of Tafo trust, which is run by a board of trustees and a working committee including himself (Friends of Tafo trust, August 2012)<sup>11</sup>. According to the organization website, 10% of all funds are kept for administration cost in United Kingdom and Ghana. The organization emphasizes that members receive no remuneration. The development chiefs who rely on fund raising and donors and require the agreement of trustees for expenditures are obviously more constrained in the projects they can deliver to their villages and this has a significant impact on the pace of delivery of 'development'.

<sup>11</sup> [www.friendsoftafo.org](http://www.friendsoftafo.org)

#### 7.4.2 Influence of status and background

The status and backgrounds of the philanthropists were analyzed to see how this influenced their commitment to their role. The focus was on factors that could influence their availability in terms of time.

Employment status was found to be a key factor influencing availability to the community. As the position involves duties and responsibilities, philanthropists, who live abroad, need time to travel often from their country of residence. This favors those philanthropists who are retired, like Humphrey Barclay and Lynne Symonds as they do not need permission from their employers to travel. This status gives them the opportunity to travel or visit their villages as often as they want or need to and they can also spend as much time as they like in their adopted villages. Lynne Symonds visits at least three times every year. She explained, 'I go to Ghana any time I feel enough funding has been raised for a project' (Lynne Symonds, interview, Norwich, 16 June 2010). Humphrey Barclay stated:

“I visit and sometimes attend village festivals and royal occasions every year. In many instances, I will attend meetings that involve development” (Humphrey Barclay, interviewed, London, 09 May 2010).

It is also easy for self-employed philanthropists, like Jane Goldsmith, the development consultant, and John Lawler, to commit time to their philanthropic work in Ghana. They run their own organisations and can arrange things to suit their time of travel although (and obviously) they also must spend considerable amounts of time working for their own enterprises. Lawler's foundation sends volunteers to six countries around the world. Because his work involves travelling, he can fit travelling to Shia into his schedules without much difficulty. He explained:

“I have less restriction in travelling because I am not working under anyone. I run the business, which involves travelling, with my wife who covers the business during my absence. Mind you, she is also the development queen at the village so everything I go there to do is for both of us” (interview with John Lawler, Shia, 29 November 2010).

Philanthropists who are employees evidently face greater restrictions on their travelling and visiting. Kathryn Prosser, a management development consultant for a firm in UK, confirmed that she could only travel to Endwa, her adopted village, during her annual holiday times. This means she is only available for a few weeks throughout the year.

Most communications are therefore done by middlemen and coordinated by telephone and e-mail contact. This obviously reduces the amount of contact she has with her adopted community.

The nature of the individual philanthropist's household can also influence his/her commitment. Philanthropists who have young families or families with infirm members need to devote some of their time to the family as well. All the philanthropists talked about their responsibility and commitment to their family and household and the need to balance family and village requirements. Humphrey Barclay is single and has no children and this allows him more time to spend on his village (Humphrey Barclay, interviewed, London, 09 May 2010). Lynne Symonds is retired with her husband and her children are now adults. This means she is flexible and can devote time to her village as it suits her, as household members are independent (Lynne Symonds, interview, Norwich, 16 June 2010).

Family commitments also vary with the age of the FDP. The younger the FDPS, the more likely they are to have young dependent household members. Jane Goldsmith, for example, has only adult household members in her family who are independent and this has enabled her in taking up her new role alongside her profession as a development consultant. Two of the other philanthropists, John Lawler and Kathryn Prosser are in their thirties with young families. As John and Elaine Lawler are both involved as development philanthropists, being chief and queen respectively for Shia, they are supportive of one another's commitment to these roles. This has helped because, even though they are a young couple, Elaine is always prepared to look after the household when John travels to Ghana.

Support from family and household members is also very important. Lynne Symonds' husband often travels with her to her community in Ghana. Lynne felt that "it gives moral support and encouragement if your partner is so interested in what you are doing" (Lynne Symonds, interview, Norwich, 16 June 2010). Jane Goldsmith also described how members of her household are supportive. She noted, "my children even do toy collections from different sources, including charity organizations and ship them to the nursery in my adopted village" (Jane Goldsmith, interview, London, 20 June 2010).

Place of residence was a further influence on the commitment of the philanthropist. Samir Kalmoni and Rita Marley are successful with their role partly because they reside in the vicinity of Konkonuru with their family. This enables their personal involvement

with local development and their engagement with the people. Samir Kalmoni admitted that. In his view:

“Because I'm always living with them, I feel being part of them and identify development problems quickly. I do not get second hand information on my responsibilities” (interview with Samir Kalmoni, Konkonuru, 19 November 2010)



**Plate 7.8 Is proximity a factor? Top; Principal researcher talking to Samir Kalmoni at his residence at Konkonuru. Below is the front view of the residence of Rita Marley at the outskirts of the village**

## 7.5 Impact on Rural Development

### 7.5.1 Tackling Poverty

The philanthropists' understanding and perceptions of what constitutes rural development evidently affects their priorities and the outcomes of their interventions in the villages. Their views were discussed and related to their characteristics.

Their views about rural development and what should be the priorities for development in the communities with which they are involved are shown in Table 7.4.

**Table 7.4 Development Philanthropists' views on rural development**

NAME	Understanding of rural development	Ideas about the priorities of the communities
Humphrey Barclay	Poverty Alleviation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Clean drinking water</li> <li>• Tertiary education assistance</li> <li>• Computerisation of primary school</li> <li>• Internet connectivity for schools</li> <li>• Agricultural development</li> </ul>
Jane Goldsmith	Poverty Alleviation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Community centre</li> <li>• Facilities for schools- furniture and equipment for schools</li> <li>• Scholarship for needy children</li> <li>• Improve access path to village</li> <li>• Toilets and sanitation</li> <li>• Income generating-palm oil grinding mill</li> </ul>
Samir Kalmoni	Access to urban facilities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Employment</li> <li>• Infrastructure</li> <li>• Education</li> </ul>
John Lawler	Poverty Alleviation Access to urban facilities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Increase incomes</li> <li>• Access to education</li> <li>• Improved sanitation and health</li> <li>• Access to grants for start-up business</li> <li>• External support for some community-led project</li> <li>• Health</li> </ul>
Elaine Lawler	Poverty Alleviation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Same as John Lawler</li> <li>• Women's empowerment</li> </ul>
Rita Marley	Poverty Alleviation Access to urban facilities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Education</li> <li>• Agriculture</li> <li>• Infrastructure</li> <li>• Transport</li> <li>• Health</li> </ul>
Kathryn Prosser	Poverty Alleviation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Education</li> <li>• Capital project/infrastructure</li> <li>• Women and development</li> <li>• Health</li> </ul>
Lynne Symonds	Poverty Alleviation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Empowerment of women.</li> <li>• Education</li> <li>• Better transport systems,</li> <li>• Access to electricity</li> <li>• Protection against flooding (eg. In terms of making many communities unreachable for months each year)</li> <li>• Youth employment</li> <li>• Better markets for local produce and crafts</li> </ul>

**Source: Survey (2010)**

Everyone tends to identify rural Africa as a place characterized by extreme poverty. The development philanthropists are no different in this respect (various interviews). They admit that it is this perception that led them to act altruistically - out of compassion, and which gave them the impetus to accept and commit themselves to their posts. Six of them explained that they had been to their villages to witness the extent of poverty their villages were facing firsthand prior to becoming involved with their development.

Rural development has been variously understood, as discussed in chapter two. In the Ghanaian perspective it is a programme or policy that will lead rural communities to have access to socio-economic infrastructure (as the urban communities do) and probably also facilities that will improve agriculture (various interviews Konkonuru and Shia 2010). This sits well with Chambers' (1983) view of rural development as a strategy to help the poor in rural areas to achieve what they need or want for themselves. To examine how they understand the new development concept that they have adopted, we asked them in the focus group discussion about their ideas on this concept and what they had expected from it. Generally, they emphasized that they want to get access to the sorts of amenities that are perceived to be enjoyed in urban communities. Their main priorities were the provision of facilities such as quality education, infrastructure (roads, clean water, electricity etc), employment, quality health facilities and agricultural inputs which they felt can improve their quality of life (table 5.4). While in some countries in Europe, America and Asia, rural communities have easy access to these basic amenities and infrastructure, this is not the case in Ghana.

**Table 7.5 Priorities of the respondents**

<b>Top priorities</b>	<b>Konkonuru</b>		<b>Shia</b>	
	<b>Number</b>	<b>Percentage</b>	<b>Number</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Agricultural inputs	6	5	5	7
Children's education	27	23	26	38
Employment	16	14	8	11
Housing	3	2.5	2	3
Physical infrastructure	39	33	17	24
Provision of health care	24	20	9	13
Training opportunities	3	2.5	3	4

**Source: Survey (2010)**

All the development philanthropists explained that, for them, rural development means the eradication of rural poverty and access to essential facilities such as electricity, clean water, roads and health facilities that will improve their wellbeing. They all stated that they believed providing these facilities will improve wellbeing and alleviate poverty. Different views were expressed about how poverty should be tackled.

As indicated in table 7.4, the philanthropists prefer tackling the socio-economic aspect of the problems within rural communities, leaving the political aspects to the people to solve themselves. They also found some of the cultural traditions of the people very complex and delicate to deal with (various interviews, May-December 2010). These include issues like inheritance norms, undemocratic traditions and gender inequalities. They all stated indicated that people are not ready to give up their traditions and culture and that it was far too delicate a matter for an outsider to interfere or advise on. To avoid the problem of cultural disconnection, the development philanthropist preferred to deal with the economic aspects of rural development. Their focus has always been on promoting and improving the livelihoods of the people and improving their access to social and economic infrastructure. Improving education and health care were particularly regarded as the main elements needed by rural people to improve their quality of life.

Results of the survey from the two villages found that children's education was a top priority (table 7.5). However there was a difference in individual priorities between the two villages. In Konkonuru 33% felt infrastructural facilities were their top priority with 23% choosing children's education, as their second top priority. 38% of respondents from Shia voted children's education as their top priority, ahead of infrastructure at 24%. Shia is in Eweland, and the Ewe tribe are noted as being more enthusiastic about education than most other tribes in Ghana (Dugbazah, 2007). They believe that education is the only solution to poverty. They have the perception that one must give a child the best of education, and after completion he can migrate to the cities or abroad for clerical jobs and send remittances back home to help alleviate family poverty.

All the philanthropists were directly involved with education projects for their village. Lack of education, especially in developing countries is cited to be one of the major causes of poverty in rural areas (Adjasi and Osei 2007; Ansong and Smith, 2001). In Ghana rural people are mainly farmers and often see formal education as less important. Recent climatic changes including bushfires, drought and infestations, means there is an

increasing need for change. Lack of education and high illiteracy hinder the possibility of people diversifying their livelihoods.

Some philanthropists promote education by donating books, building new schools or renovating old ones, sending computers (with ICT viewed as a new essential facility in rural education). Building local libraries as well as vocational schools and kindergartens are also priorities. All the various stages in education are affected by the FDPs one way or another from nursery to college.

As of August 2012, the eight philanthropists interviewed have built six new school and colleges and improved 16. One nursery has also been built by Jane Goldsmith at Akoanso. Four FDPs - Humphrey Barclay, Jane Goldsmith, Miss Prosser and Lynne Symonds - have introduced scholarships to pay for academically excellent but poor children to attend secondary schools and universities. There are no sponsorship restrictions on the type of training or courses undertaken (interviews with four FDPs, 2010). At the time of the interviews, Samir Kalmoni had also asked traditional leaders to nominate two youths who are sufficiently qualified to be trained as junior school teachers. He wishes to sponsor them at a teachers' training college in Aburi (18 km from Konkonuru). He was concerned that the village did not have a teacher who is a native and worried that in the future the current teachers might decide to leave the village to their homes towns, especially when they become older.

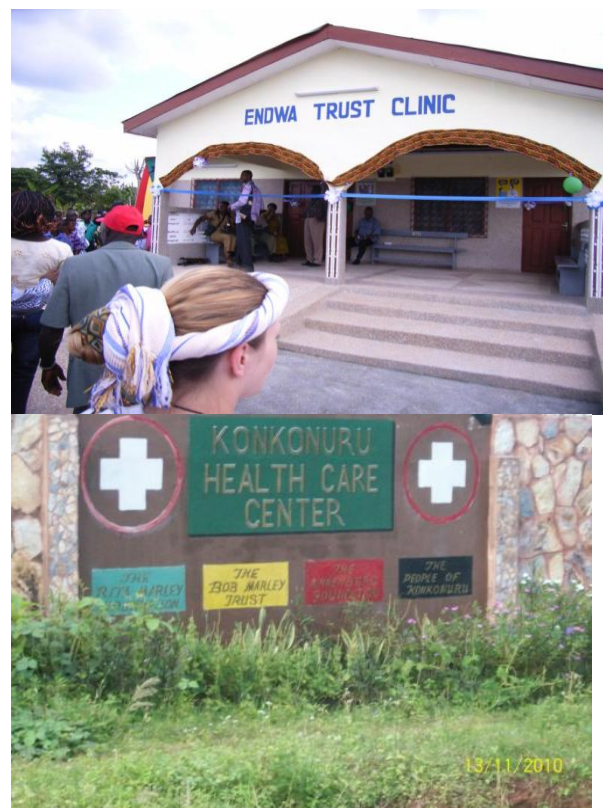
By contrast, the Akans (Konkonurus) are generally noted for trading and agriculture as they live in the moist forest zone with enriched soil for the cultivation of cash crops. Hence they tend to choose first any facility that will enhance their trading interest.

Among the other priorities chosen, provision of health care, was third on the preferences of respondents from both villages. Respondents from Konkonuru voted 20%, while Shia voted 13% for the importance of health care at their village.

Three health care clinics have been established by the FDPs. In Konkonuru Rita Marley opened a new clinic in 2011 where the community is serviced free of charge. John Lawler's clinic, at Shia, is always staffed with volunteer doctors and nurses from abroad. Kathryn Prosser has also helped her village to built a health care clinic, after helping them to secure funding from the European Economic Community (endwa.org April 2012). Provision of health care is a major problem in the rural communities in Ghana. According to Togbe Dzadzawa II, Chief of Konkonuru, before their new clinic, people had to travel about 25 miles to Ho, the capital of Volta region for modern health



care. Besides their travelling expenditure they also need to find money to pay for drugs and hospital fees (Togbe Dzadzawa II, interview, Shia, 30 November 2010). The lack of this facility is probably the reason why most of the community members resort to seeking herbal treatment and approaching ‘quack doctors’ during cases of illness. Rural herbal medicine is often practiced in poor hygiene and doses are not well measured according to the conditions of the patient – age, weight and height. This often puts the patient to the risks of side effect of treatment. ‘Quack doctors’ are unqualified and self-declared doctors who move from village to village to treat sick people. They are noted for giving unreliable prescriptions and doses to patients, putting them at serious risk of side effects which in turn can aggravate the illness leading to fatalities in some instances. One man told us a story of how his niece collapsed and died in the presence of a ‘quack doctor’, after he [quack doctor] had given her a drug to treat her malaria sickness (Akaptor, interview 03 December 2010). Togbe Dzadzawa II indicated that the provision of health care through John Lawler’s efforts is costless because it is saving lives and saving the people money on cost of medical treatment and also improving their quality of lives.



**Plate 7.9** A new clinic being opened by Katherine Prosser at Edwa (left) and the health care center built by Rita Marley at Konkonuru (Right).

Of the remaining priorities provision of employment was voted as most important by 14% from Konkonuru and 11% from Shia. Respondents from Konkonuru gave 2.5% to both training opportunities and housing. But Shia voted 4% for training opportunities and 3% for housing. Significantly, respondents from both villages did not see agricultural development as a high priority, despite agriculture being their main source of income and livelihood. Provision of agricultural inputs had 5% and 7% votes from Konkonuru and Shia respectively. The two possible reasons were that either they did not urgently need agriculture inputs such as irrigation facilities and fertilizers, as compared to the farmers in the northern part of the country who operate on dry and impoverished lands, or the rural communities are diversifying their livelihood to non-agricultural sources of income (Ellis 2008; Bryceson, 1999).

#### 7.5.2 Access to physical infrastructure

The physical infrastructural facilities perceived to be important by the FDPs are electricity, water and roads. These elements of basic infrastructure are physical capital that are not only essential for meeting the needs of the people directly but also can give them access to other important capitals. Lynne Symonds, for example, explained:

“We need electricity more widely available and a better transport systems, and protection against flooding- which makes many communities unreachable for months each year. For example, one of the villages in my district is called ‘overseas’ because it is always cut off from the rest of the villages, by flooding for three quarter period of the year” ( interview with Lynne Symonds, Norwich, 13 February 2011).

An improved transport system improves the accessibility of the communities and thus will give villagers better access to markets and enhance trading among district communities. There will also be wider availability of employment and access to other important facilities, such as a mobile clinic. Rita Marley and Samir Kalmoni jointly helped the government to upgrade the main road connecting Konkonuru to Junction, which links to the main road to Accra (both philanthropists confirmed in interviews). This has been of immense benefit to farmers, market women and workers commuting to Accra daily.

The two researched sites, Konkonuru and Shia, have access to electricity. The electricity and street lights in Konkonuru were funded by Samir Kalmoni. The community feels this has been very beneficial to their lives (various respondents). The street lights have increased their daily social hours. This has increased the amount of time for their social interaction and therefore social capital. It has also brought in new businesses and improved old ones as well. That means that having electricity is likely to improve their financial capital as well. Among the new businesses are the sales of frozen and refrigerated foods in convenience stores and a communication centre with an internet café. It has also encouraged an inflow of migrants, some of whom are skilled workers, including teachers, craftsmen, midwives and nurses, who are essential for rural development; thereby improving human capital to the people. Shia still has no street lights but the government installed electricity in 1999 which is used in homes. The chief of Shia regards this as the main benefit the village has obtained from the government (Togbe Dzadzawa II, interview, Shia, 30 November 2010). Shia is fortunate to be on the main roads between Ho, the capital of Volta region, and Aflao, the main Ghana-Togo border. This helps to explain why electricity was installed by the government.

The provision of clean water is another crucial development indicator. Shia has access to pumped underground water which was installed by DANIDA, the Danish development agency (Justus Avudzivi, interview, Shia, 29 November 2010). Konkonuru's improved water however has been a direct result of their FDP, Rita Marley, who funded in this in 2002. The villagers' access to clean water has massively reduced the incidence of river blindness, Guinea worms and bilharzia (Nana Addo Mensah II, interview, Konkonuru, 17 November 2010). The health status of rural people is very important because it "determines their quality of life, productivity and life expectancy" (Ashong and Smith, 2001:15).

### 7.5.3 Provision of financial capital

The impact of the FDPs can also be assessed by examining how their projects enable finance or income available to the people; in the form of wages and supplies of credit. Financial capital is very important in poverty reduction as it can be used to purchase other capitals which can also bring development.

The research found that the projects of the FDPs make financial capital available to the people either directly or indirectly. The provision of cycle loan to vocational school graduates by Lynne Symonds, for example, will provide a direct capital to them. Even though it is on credit, it inspires and motivates them to start small scale businesses that relates to their newly- acquired skills. This will earn them their livelihood and improve their well being. Lynne Symonds commented:

“The cycle loan project is so far successful and we hope many individuals who are provided with this opportunity, be honest and pay back on time and accordingly so that they do not harm the chances of others” (Lynne Symonds, interview, Norwich, 16 June 2010).

The construction of the ecotourism complex at Konkonuru by Samir Kalmoni, also has potential to create significant employment for the locals. This will earn them direct incomes to improve their livelihoods. According to Samir Kalmoni, it is estimated that this project will create 250 jobs when in full operation besides increasing the incomes of petty traders. This will also enhance livelihood diversity in Konkonuru, because some might work in the tourism project as a secondary employment. Among the tourist attractions in the complex are a motel with a variety of sports activities and a reserve area with wildlife and vegetation.

As previously mentioned, climate change may require more livelihood diversity in rural areas. Roads and transport allow or increase the mobility of rural people which facilitates income-generating ventures. Typical examples are ability to market farm produce in time and commuting to work in the big towns and cities for daily employment.

### 7.5.3 Approach to agriculture

Five out of the eight philanthropists highlighted the importance of agriculture development. Yet none had made any significant or direct contribution toward this sector, even though agriculture is the main livelihood of the rural people. Chapter five illustrated that the people themselves do not put agricultural improvement as their highest priority. This is because the farmers believe that not much can be done by the FDPs in agriculture. One farmer in Shia said:

“the development chief cannot change the climatic problems like drought and bushfire and infestations. It will all be too much for him to do irrigation” (Mr Klutse, interview, 09 December 2010).

Neither are they interested in hi-tech farming eg. mechanized farming and in any case the rocky and undulating terrain of the two villages do not favour that (pers. obs.). Only a few farmers are interested in and engaged with ‘big time’ commercial farming; the rest see themselves as just small scale farmers (pers. obs.). What they are more interested in is how they can market their produce and this can be solved by improvement to access roads and transport. This is contrary to many rural development approaches which regard improvement of agricultural productivity as their main target. This is because they believe it is the mainstay of the livelihood of the rural people. A recent example is the United Nations rural intervention project, Millennium Village Project (MVP), which focuses mainly on agriculture rather than improvement to infrastructure. The MVP concentrates on the combination of Green Revolution inputs and integrated rural development (Cabaral et al 2006), where agricultural inputs such as fertilizers and improved seeds, and the advice of agricultural extension officers are provided free to farmers from the selected villages. These agricultural provisions are essential to agricultural development but may benefit the rural people only in the short term. This is because the cost of these facilities will quite possibly not make it sustainable after the duration of the project. From the perspectives of the FDPs the lack of prioritizing agriculture is understandable inasmuch as they have little knowledge or practical experience in agriculture. They therefore see provision of infrastructure the best strategy for rural development and feel it can be achieved in a shorter time.

Another issue in agriculture development in rural Ghana is that, as more people are being educated, the number of people engaging in agriculture decreases. The youth and the middle aged groups who are mostly literates shun agriculture.

#### 7.5.4 The Millennium Development Goals

In the interviews and interaction with the eight philanthropists, none of them made reference to the United Nations' Millennium Development Goals (MDG) commissioned in 2001 by the then Secretary General, Kofi Annan, to tackle specific problems affecting developing countries. When their attention was drawn to it they did not seem to be familiar with these goals. Analysis indicates that the roles and activities performed by the FDPS appear to be in line with at least six of the eight goals, outlined below 1

##### *The millennium development goals*

1. End poverty and hunger
2. Universal education
3. Gender equality
4. Child health
5. Maternal health
6. Combat HIV/AIDS
7. Environmental suitability
8. Global partnerships

The links between the performance of development philanthropy in the two villages researched and the MDGs is presented in Table 7.6.

Survey analysis of both newspaper coverage and other literature on Ghana's achievement of the Millennium Development goals does not refer to the work of the FDPs. My analysis indicates that the work of the FDPs has played a part in working towards achievement of the MDGs.

**Table 7.6 Fulfilment of Millennium Development Goals development philanthropists**

<b>Goal/No.</b>	<b>Philanthropists Contributions</b>
1.Poverty	The philanthropists embark on various projects that aim to improve villagers' income, livelihood and wellbeing. These include access to various social and economic infrastructure, palm oil cottage project and micro-loans as capital for employment.
2.Universal Education	Almost all of them are interested and are involved in educational projects at basic levels of education for their communities.
3.Gender Equality	The women philanthropists are more interested in promoting gender equality and women empowerment.
4, 5 and 6.Child health and maternal health and HIV	At least two FDPs are embarking on community health projects that offer free health clinic. These include child and maternal health and sexual health education.

## **7.6 Analysis: development issues**

### **7.6.1 Women in development philanthropy**

The female philanthropists interviewed were found to have similar interests and priorities. Unlike the male philanthropists, who take general views on development, all the women were particularly interested in the economic empowerment of women. Typically, in rural Ghana, women are particularly affected by poverty and most are not aware of their rights as citizens and even as human beings. This is due to customs and traditions that sideline women from participating in many social, political and economic activities. In the rural areas, the mainstay of their livelihood is farming. Women do the bulk of this farm work and take care of the domestic chores of their household as well. A woman at Konkonuru expressed that if they could get an alternative source of income generation, they could leave farming to the men so that the burden will be reduced and their income improved. This wish is difficult achieve because of the skills and opportunities required for income diversification. All the female philanthropists pointed to this gender issue by expressing their concerns and prioritising activities that enabled

women to understand their rights; to access employable skills; through education and appropriate skill acquisition projects. Jane Goldsmith explained that:

“women in my village lack access and control over economic resources. They have no control over land, lack personal properties and credit because traditions and customs give men more control and advantage on information, education and work opportunities” (interview with Jane Goldsmith, 20 June 2010).

Though all the seven philanthropists interviewed have in one way or another helped in projects involving education, the female philanthropists were particularly interested in education for young girls and women. Lynne Symonds explained that in her view, improving women’s education would increase their economic empowerment and become a means of stopping the cycle of inequality in their village. She believes that helping women to become economically resourceful helps the entire household. She has established six vocational schools (one boarding) for women in the Mamprusi district. She explained:

“When I started, I realized that some of the young women migrate to Ivory Coast for prostitution and some as slaves because there was no gainful employment for women here. We saw the need to bring those in Ivory Coast back and negotiate to free those in slavery. We started the vocational school, free of charge. We then set up our project committee to help those brought back to learn vocational skills from the school – as seamstresses, in hair dressing and handicrafts. Our first graduates have just passed out and we have given them micro loans (equivalent to £170) to start up their petty business” (Lynne Symonds, interview, Norwich, 16 June 2010).

Jane Goldsmith started by establishing a nursery at her village in Akoaso. She set this up to enable children to have early access to education, to help their mothers to find opportunities to work and earn economic independence. She felt that “women carrying children at their back is not good for their health and fitness which can also affect their earning opportunities as” (Jane Goldsmith, interviewed, London, 20 June 2010).

Three women in Konkonumu said that Rita Marley had been helping them to get gainful employment so that they could become economically independent. They say she gave them 2 million Cedis (equivalent to £150) to start petty trading, after she learned that they were landless (Dufie, interview, Konkonuru, 21 November 2010). Another poor widow confirmed Rita Marley renovated her nearly collapsed home for nothing (various



respondents, Konkonuru, November 2010). Villagers also confirmed that to relieve mothers, children are provided with free lunch at school by the Rita Marley Foundation, at Konkonumu.

Lynne Symonds gives sewing machines to vocational graduates who learn to become seamstresses and uses the 'recycle loan' concept to help women's groups to start up gainful petty businesses after graduation. Kathryn Prosser, the development queen of Assin Endwa, has also shown interest in helping women to become self-reliant. She started by forming a women's cooperative group involved with cottage projects in village eg. cassava processing.<sup>12</sup> This will be helpful to the families who have no access to land for farming. She explained, "the project will have a positive impact on children and the wider community as most families are women-led households" (Kathryn Prosser, interview, London, 13 February 2011).

The women philanthropists are thus involved in various ways to try to improve the welfare of women in their villages (see Plate 7.10).

#### 7.6.2 Interests and Benefits

All the development philanthropists candidly stated that they went into what they are doing without thinking about how or what they would gain or benefit from being an FDP (various, 2010). Despite the excitement and aesthetic appeal of the position, their prime consideration was that they were being offered an opportunity to lead poverty alleviation. Nonetheless, some did show how they had personal gain from their engagements with their communities.

John Lawler was one of those who discussed his personal interests and benefits. First, his appointment enabled him to gain insight into the voluntary sector business (John Lawler, interviewed, London, 16 May 2010). He later established his organisation Madventurer, a gap year company which sends volunteers with essential skills to different rural communities in a number of countries: Thailand, Kenya, Fiji, India and Bolivia. He explained that he picked the organisation's name from his Shia connection. MAD means – **M**ossi (pioneering pathfinder through the forest) **A**frica **D**evelopment. Lawler also mentioned that the publicity about his position and work enabled him to re-enrol at Newcastle University, which had formerly dismissed him for bad behaviour.

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<sup>12</sup> [www.endwa.org](http://www.endwa.org)



**Plate 7.10 Lynn Symonds shows more interest in empowering women. Pictures show some of her project that aims to help women.**

They were impressed by the way he had changed and was making an impact and contribution to the wellbeing of mankind. This enabled him to complete his degree in environmental engineering.

Jane Goldsmith, a development consultant, has been able to use her position to conduct research on queenship in the traditional institutions of Ghana. Her book was to be published soon at the time of interview. Both expressed that it was the sense of personal accomplishment in leading their people in development that was their main benefit. They see their work as a great achievement and feel that they are doing a good act by improving the well-being of the poor.

The ecotourism project at Konkonuru is an investment. Though it will bring employment and tourism to the village, it will also serve as a business for Mr Kalmoni. His position in the traditional leadership enabled him to secure such a vast piece of land for the project.

#### 7.6.3 Cultural connection

“I have a real empathy for Ghana and its people - at times I feel very much a Ghanaian in a white skin and am honoured to have so many brothers and sisters in the North [Northern Ghana]”(Lynne Symonds, interview, Norwich, 23 February 2011).

This was said by Lynne Symonds when asked about her connection to the people. All the FDPs interviewed felt that they are comfortable with and have high respect for the cultures and values of their adopted people. Mr. Kalmoni commented,

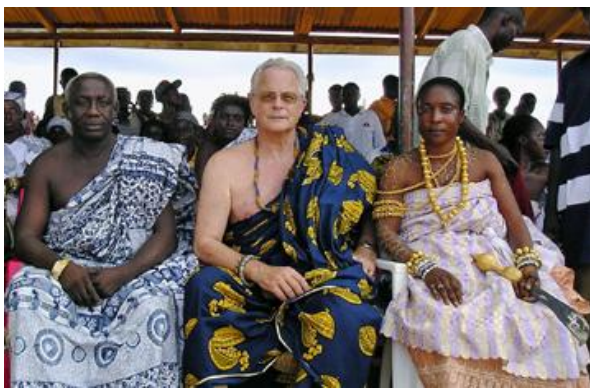
“I was conferred into this traditional institution which is identified by culture and values. To be part of it I needed to learn quickly and the leadership was prepared to help me and so I have learnt a lot” (Kalmoni, interview, Konkonuru, 19 November 2010).

Two opposed viewpoints were found among local people about whether FDPs can take part in local culture in an authentic and meaningful way. One viewpoint is that there is nothing wrong with encouraging the FDPs to be involved in traditional and cultural activities. Their view is that they have become part of the community and must believe

and practice the values of that community. They believe that the FDPs will learn the culture over time. One person in Shia said:

“I have seen him [FDP] trying hard to get involved, observing and practicing cultural duties. He will need time to know everything. Mind you, I have been practising my culture from my infant age. I was born into it. That is why I can do things better than him” (Bediak0, interview, Konkonnuru, 22 November 2010).

Opposition usually comes from outside the communities involved. Most of the critics are highly educated and live in urban areas or abroad. These critics question the involvement of the FDPs, especially the whites, whether they would understand and ever accept the cultural role and responsibilities of a chieftaincy position (Bob-Milliar, 2009). There is disquiet among this group that money brought in by the FDPs is felt to be more important to the people than the preservation of traditions and culture. This has been a subject of debate in the Ghanaian media. Some chiefs, opinion leaders and others fear it will result in a degradation of the chieftaincy institution and traditions and culture will be diluted (Steggstra, 2006). Some academics of African origin also view this concept of appointing foreigners as sacrilegious because it will allow [non-blacks] to lay claim to the institution of chieftaincy which is a distinct mark of ‘Black Identity’ (Bob- Milliar 2008). The current Asantehene, Otumfuo Osei Tutu, also expressed the fear of abuse of the position because it can undermine the authority of the chieftaincy and erode customary practices in the institution (Ghana News, 2004). A typical example of this claim is the story of Roger Gilman, a British man who is development chief of Mankoadze. Gilman was criticized in the Ghanaian press for allowing some of his people to follow behind him with a stool when he was attending a gathering of chiefs as a guest. He was asked to send his stool home because in Ghanaian traditional custom a chief does not need to carry his stool when invited to a fellow chief’s palace (GNA, 2005). It can be argued that while this was not correct practice it is not an abuse of culture as it could easily have been avoided had the traditional leadership advised him before he went to the durbar of chiefs.



**Plate 7.11 Foreign development philanthropists say they do respect their adopted cultures**

#### 7.6.4 Decision making and People's Participation

The FDPs were asked whether they had ever initiated community participation when undertaking development projects. As discussed in chapter 5, project participation involves decisions on what project to undertake, implementation of the project and maintenance. While all FDPs acknowledged the importance of participation they had not been able to put the concept into practice, especially when making a decisions on which projects to undertake.

As shown in table 7.1, all the FDPs listed their development priorities, but in most cases the projects were initiated by themselves without consulting the people and leaders first. From interviewing the FDPs it becomes apparent that many have their own plans and ideas on how they are going to improve the well-being of the population and enhance development opportunities in their villages. They believe that these plans are what their communities would need to move forward. As the FDPS provide funding for these activities they are able to make unilateral decisions on what to support. The philanthropists interviewed explained that participatory decision making is very difficult primarily due to the limited time available for them to engage with the people. Participation requires time - meeting and interacting with the people, evaluating suggestions and making decisions. This process in particular does not suit FDPs who are not normally resident in the communities.

There is also a report of indifferent attitudes by the people when it comes to decision making. The development philanthropist of Konkonuru, Mr. Kalmoni, explained that it is not 100 percent practical to get the entire community deciding on every decision you are making towards development. Mr. Kalmoni explained:

“Poor people are more concerned about their daily bread or livelihood than making decisions on projects. They think more about their immediate survival than the future. It is therefore very uncommon to find a high percentage of people who are committed and interested in the various stages of participation in a village” (Samir Kalmoni, interview, Konkonuru, 19 November 2010).

He also explained that it is difficult to get the entire community together at one time. On non-working or non-farm days, activities such as church, funerals and out-door ceremonies might be happening (Samir Kalmoni, interview, Konkonuru, 19 November 2010).



Community leaders support the concept of partnership between themselves and the FDPs, especially in deciding on development projects. Nene Akotor, the chief of Balewashie, firmly reiterated this during the inauguration of their development queen:

.....the development queenmother would be expected to work hand-in-hand with the Town Development Council to improve the standard of living of the people by raising resources from both home and abroad to speed up the development process in the community (Ghana News Agency 31 Aug 2003).

Ghanaian cultures teach people to be subordinate to leadership. This makes leadership - community relationships in Ghanaian cultural systems paternalistic. There is a cultural view that the traditional 'leaders are experienced and they know best' especially in the remote areas. The folklore that goes with the perception is 'obey your elders and leaders', which is similar to how children are told to obey and accept every decision parents make for them.

My research indicated that many members of the communities seemed fairly unconcerned about the issue of decisions being dominated by the FDPs, the leaders and the elites. They believe that their leaders would not make mistakes when deciding for them. They also believe that the FDPs (coming from developed countries) know best so they rely on them and allow them to act on their behalf (various interviews, 2010). One villager from Konkonuru commented on this issue, saying that:

"if they are making our village developed, which we are looking forward to, with their own money, why should I complain on decision making? They do not ask contributions or taxes from us. They are good and kind people" (Kwadwo Afranie, interview, Konkonuru, 01 December 2010).

While public interest is limited, the leaders and elites show much more interest in being involved in deciding what project to undertake, provision of labour and maintenance of projects. Lynne Symonds noted:

"Local village chiefs are generally extremely supportive and aware of the value of our working together. Public interest is sometimes, naturally, limited to self interest. Those who have never lived in extreme poverty are indirectly given the mandate to make decisions" (Lynne Symonds, interview, Norwich 16 June 2010).

Decision making on the FDP's projects, therefore, can be captured by the dominant people in the village (the leaders and elites). But nonetheless this can be regarded in some ways as representative. Humphrey Barclay, for example, was of the view that the

nature of local culture and values meant that people saw participation differently from the western view. He believes that the poor accepted the role of the elites in making decisions on their behalf and, in effect, gave them a mandate to do so. He felt that the poor only want to participate by providing communal labour, and feel that responsibility for decisions and funding belong to the leaders and elites (Humphrey Barclay, interviewed, London, 10 February 2011).

Encouraging participation could also seem uncomfortable to some of the FDPs. Kathryn Prosser, for example, pointed out that “allowing everyone to participate in decision making will raise public expectations that I cannot meet” (Kathryn Prosser, interview, London, 13 February 2011). Philanthropists fear that allowing everyone into decision making will raise their hopes that there is unlimited funding available for every project they could ask for. “Inability to do or to turn down a request project is a bit humiliating or an embarrassment” (Kathryn Prosser, interview, London, 13 February 2011).

John Lawler also felt that promoting participation in making decisions in rural communities can actually promote disagreement and conflicts because of the nature of culture, ethnicity and the land tenure system. He argued that:

“These situations make decision-making on projects difficult. Everyone wants projects sited on his/her land so that they can claim ownership in times of conflict. Making decisions in these situations always bring conflict and disagreement which could be avoided by not involving them at all” (John Lawler, interview, Shia, 29 November 2010).

Lynne Symonds’ view on these issues was that:

“those we work with have a good understanding that I am not from the donor sector and have very little to offer in terms of money, but can, by working with them, begin to build a stronger path that leads to where they really want to go. However when it comes to decision making, there is always disagreement and conflict among different sections of the community” (Lynne Symonds, interview, Norwich 16 June 2010)

Mr Kalmoni said that in Konkonuru the leadership did try to involve the people in decision making but it did not work because of lack of interest and consultation fatigue. He noted, “First meetings were fully attended but the number kept decreasing in the subsequent months.” (Samir Kalmoni, interview, Konkonuru, 19 November 2010). In his view, it would be enough to ensure that there is a strong relationship with the people, rather than involving them in decisions about which projects to implement.



Building strong relationships, he explained, means having time to talk to local villagers on the street and sometime visiting houses (ibid). His view is understandable because he lives with the people and has experienced their indifference when he attempted to encourage participation in decision making. If he can involve local leaders and elites, who are always available to take part in the decision making, then I would argue participation is being achieved. This is because local traditions allow leaders to be a mouthpiece for the people.

In summary, practicing participation would be difficult for the FDPs, in their view. Whether the poor are consulted or not, there will always be disagreement about a decision on a project.

#### 7.6.5. History of people's role in participation

It can be argued from the attitudes recorded and the information and analysis in section 5.4.6 that the majority of villagers prefer the model of development and participation practiced by FDPs where community leaders are expected to make the decisions. It seems the community members tend to understand that 'participation' just means a contribution from them in the form of free labour. This local perception was derived from the ways in which the African colonial and postcolonial states attempted to engage rural people in their own 'development' (e.g. through 'self-improvement' initiatives, the requirement to produce labour for free). This involved the use of coercion or a special device to push individuals towards assumed common interests and collective action (Olson 1973; Hardin 1982). A typical example was the methods of the military regime of Jerry John Rawlings. It became compulsory to take part in self-improvement initiatives organised by local 'Peoples Defence Committees'. This was a coercive and fearful process and there were punishments involved in failure to attend. Mike Adjei (1994) cites an incident where members of a local church refused to take part in communal labour on a Sunday morning because they were going to a church service. This led to a clash between the army and the church members and the priest and some of the church members were shot dead. Another example is the villagisation of Tanzania by the Nyerere regime, where members of rural settlements were coerced to participate in the formation of nucleated villages (Lorgen 1999).

### 7.6.7 Sustainability

“I believe that Northerners just need a leg-up (not charity) and self- belief as they move towards building better futures for themselves” Lynn Symonds (16 June 2010)

Chieftaincy in Ghana has no end of term in office unless they are charged with misconduct that can bring the institution into disrepute. The FDPs, on the other hand, view their positions as managers of rural development projects with indefinite tenure. In interviews with the communities of the research sites people expressed the fear that one day their FDP will retire and will not be able to lead or help them anymore (interviews with various respondents, Konkonuru and Shia, 2010).

During the interviews with FDPs they also admitted that one day they may not be able to travel to Ghana due to old age or retirement. Notwithstanding the impact they have made so far, there is a problem of lacking exit strategies to ensure sustainability of the impact they are making in rural development. None of the FDPs interviewed had considered this issue. As they are not from civil society organizations, their relationship with and role in the communities can end without a successful hand over to local leadership or an institution.

As Humphrey Barclay admitted:

“If today, I am knocked down by a car while crossing the road, I don’t know what will happen to my people there I have not thought about the community without me. I think that will be the end of the story. May be my nephew who is my next of kin will be interested” (Humphrey Barclay, interviewed, London, 09 May 2010).

This issue of leaving the position to a next of kin fits well with the inheritance system of the traditional institutions in Ghana. However the next of kin might not be interested in continuing this kind of voluntary project. For example, the son of A.G Hillard - an American FDP for Mankraso, was not interested in succeeding his father at the village after his death. The community feels abandoned, according to a teacher at the village (interviewed, Mankraso October 2010).

## **7.7 Conclusion**

Development philanthropy is an amateur practice of development. Its practitioners manage projects at their own pace according to the availability of a number of resources. Their effectiveness mainly depends on their personal background and the resources they can command. Though they are making an impact, their inability to plan strategically for the future of the projects they have initiated for rural communities does indicate uncertainty.

## **CHAPTER EIGHT**

### **CONCLUSION**

#### **8.1 Introduction**

This final chapter aims, first, to provide a summary of the key findings of the study, to discuss and integrate the various issues raised in the preceding empirical chapters reflecting on the aims of the thesis. Secondly, a model is proposed in the context of the outcome and role of stakeholders. Thirdly, theoretical implications of the concept are discussed and lastly, future possible directions for research in this area are outlined, building on how development can bring the best out of philanthropy and culture.

#### **8.2 Synthesis of main findings**

##### **8.2.1 Approach and generalisability**

The study set out to explore the impact of the emerging concept of development philanthropy in rural Ghana. It was guided throughout by the philosophy that rural development can be successful if all stakeholders play effective roles. This philosophy framed the examination and analysis of the concept as practiced by foreign development philanthropists (FDPs) in rural communities in Ghana.

Some of the findings of the study can only be generalized to traditional rural communities in Ghana. This is because the concept was invented and is being run by traditional authorities in this country. Thus specific historical and cultural factors are often involved. However, within Ghana this concept is more widespread in the southern half of the country than the northern half. Among the 32 FDPs identified, 29 were operating in the south and the remaining three in the north. One reason for this is because the southern half has historically had more contact with outsiders than the northern part. This factor is also reflected in migration patterns, as Southerners migrate abroad more than the Northerners. Therefore culture, traditions and the geography of the community have influence on the uptake and outcome of the concept. Nonetheless, some of the general findings about the concept could be of relevance to the wider West

African region, as communities in Nigeria, Sierra Leone and Cameroon are also known to give neo-traditional chieftaincy titles. However, these are honorific only, being given to foreigners who have provided ‘one-off’ assistance or help. The findings from this study emphasize how the development philanthropy concept, as practiced in Ghana, always involves the philanthropist more deeply and assumes the taking on of responsibility. Besides being the source of private funding, in Ghana development philanthropists are also expected to be involved with the administration of development. The cultural aspects of the way development philanthropy is practiced in Ghana also highlight one of the crucial differences of the FDPs’ relationships with beneficiaries from that of other development funding institutions. Most of these other institutions which are involved in rural development, especially non-governmental organizations (NGOs), are either linked with a government agency or bureaucratically managed from overseas. Although some of these organizations do interact with traditional authority, they do so only on a consultative basis for local information. It is also understood that, in conventional philanthropy, a donation is made to an organization (charity or foundation), which in turn will use it to help the needy or beneficiaries according to their policy or criteria.

#### 8.2.2 Development Philanthropy: erosion or evolution?

As discussed in chapter 7 the installation or enstoolment of foreign philanthropist had created heat debate amongst opinion leaders, some chiefs and members of the diaspora. There was much concern that this move could degrade or dilute the powers and respect of chieftaincy institution in Ghana. Majeek Steegstra noted that even African Americans have expressed such concerns:

‘...African American and other diasporans view the enstoolment of Whites as a corruption of tradition, sacrilegious and disgraceful, because they have laid claim on the institution of chieftaincy as a distinction mark of “Black identity” (Steegstra 2004:229)

As discussed in chapter five, rural people in pursuit of development have nonetheless embraced and accepted the concept into their culture and traditions. It was found that the communities involved do not feel that the practice of foreign development philanthropy is having adverse impacts on their indigenous culture or their religions. Rural Ghana, in general, had already been subjected, for generations, to the diffusion of western culture. This includes the rise of foreign religions that are replacing traditional religion. Another important factor is the impact of international media which is

increasingly available at the village level. These factors were already strongly present in rural communities before the spread of the development philanthropy concept. As Rathbone (2000) argued, the shape of chieftaincy today is the result of historical processes which have brought about many fundamental changes in its essence. The features of chieftaincy are thus already in a dynamic state. Some chiefs are now members of foreign religions - Christianity and Islam - something that would have been an abomination in the pre-colonial era. It was also found in chapters two and seven that the chieftaincy position of the development philanthropist is non-political and non-hereditary and confined to development matters. Because of this, they are not subjected to strict cultural traditions (Steegstra 2006). It is argued in chapters three, five, six and seven that the chieftaincy needs flexibility and the ability to adapt to the changing times in order to play a meaningful role in modern-day governance of rural communities. The study found that the perceptions and priorities of the people have made it easier for them to support the development philanthropist. In chapter five, it was shown that most respondents (especially the young and middle aged) put development ahead of the strict preservation of culture and values. Some suggested that their traditions and cultural values were outmoded. They believed the concept will bring development, which they prioritize ahead of preservation of tradition, values and culture. It can be argued that the culture and values of traditional communities have evolved from the history of wars and conflicts during the pre-colonial and colonial eras. Traditional institutional systems were built on conquest, clanship, slavery and tribalism. These made the systems socially exclusive, non-democratic and non-conducive for development. As modernity is catching up with the institutions, good governance and development are increasingly valued ahead of static adherence to inflexible notions of tradition and culture.

Thus local people, with the notion of development, see the need to change from old ways of doing things. From their attitudes it was evident that many want to be released from some of the bonds of traditional cultures and lifestyles which are considered not only to be signs of underdevelopment, but to provide actual obstacles to development (Taabazuigh 2011).

On the other hand, the concerns and opinions of critics of the installation of foreigners into the institution cannot be ignored. Yet their opposition derives from the Western misconception, especially expressed in the media, that the chieftaincy bestowed on foreign development philanthropists involves political power and gives them the mandate to rule the communities. This was expressed in one widely read British tabloid

newspaper discussing a development chieftaincy as British people ‘ruling’ in Africa (The Sun, 2007). It can be understood how this sort of analysis can translate into opposition. Nonetheless these fears are unfounded. This thesis found no threat to culture from the FDPs. From all the FDPs interviewed, and the interviews with the people and leaders in the villages, it was clear that they were concerned more with development issues, and had respect for local culture and values, which they are proud to be linked with. Traditional authorities are still in control of the culture which keeps adapting to suit changing events so as to ensure the proper functioning and survival of the people.

### 8.2.3 The participation model

It was found that the majority of villagers preferred the model of development and participation as practiced by FDPs whereby, for various reasons, there is an expectation that community members provide free communal labour and decision-making is mainly limited to community leaders.

The understanding and practice of participation in the surveyed villages turned out to be complex. In my interviews with the six philanthropist and other chiefs from different villages, it emerged that rural communities in Ghana tended to have similar understandings, mindsets and attitudes towards participation. While on the one hand local people tended to agree that participation was important with respect to FDP initiatives, it was evident that their commitment was partial at best and their position on ‘participation’ was ambiguous. Most respondents tended to say that participation was good for development and to believe that village participation would bring unity between the people and the authority and that they would feel ownership of a community project when they are involved. All these views conform to the general academic framings of the significance of participation in development projects if they are to be sustainable. Nonetheless, to some extent the views expressed were token, or at least were not backed up by people’s actual behaviour. For example, even though most respondents confirmed their awareness of development meetings and development projects being initiated by development philanthropists, they actually chose to participate in such activities much less than they did in other community or collective activities like political elections, religious activities (church or mosque), funeral attendance, and marriage ceremonies. The argument is that they pay more serious

attention to these activities, which impose informal sanctions for individual failure to be involved, than they do to their involvement in community projects.

However, as demonstrated in chapter 5, their willingness to participate was also found to depend on the history of the people, their socio-economic characteristics, the effectiveness of the local leadership and culture. With regard to history, communities' attitudes towards participation point to a re-casting of colonial and postcolonial state attempts to engage rural people in their own 'development' through 'self-improvement' initiatives which include the requirement to provide labour for free. This idea has become indoctrinated in rural communities especially, where it has become a moral obligation for community members to be involved in communal labour. Hence communal labour is most often provided through the coercion of the poor.

It was also found that participation is affected by intra-community power struggles and disagreements due to local politics. Local politics stem from the fact that the communities are heterogeneous. At the micro level there are social and economic stratifications. The social stratification in the villages studied is manifested partly on clan lines. This has long historical roots and has resulted in social exclusiveness and inter-clan competition amongst the rural communities. An example is the location of the toilet facility at the elite clan area at Shia (chapter 5). With regard to economic stratification there were small sections in the communities who were better off than the majority poor. They form the socio-economic elites because their economic background gives them a higher social status. They tend to be the people who are most likely to make themselves willingly available to undertake the various things needed to realise the concept. Many of the 'majority poor' fail to participate in the communal labour sometimes required due to poverty. Their argument is that they cannot afford to allocate their labour time to communal work as this would prevent them from working on their farms or as labourers; their priority is always to cater for their families' day to day needs. One explained that poor people are more concerned about their daily bread or livelihood than making decisions on projects. They think more about their immediate survival than the future. One leader noted that he was not surprised to find that only relatively few people were committed to or interested in involving themselves actively in the projects in their village. It seems reasonable to argue that the villagers who fall into this group would probably neither complain about John Lawler's volunteers working at their village nor the gate keeper hijacking the projects.



In other cases a lack of interest in participating was also attributed to practices of nepotism and bad leadership. This related to incidents when particular traditional leaders took advantage of the institutionalized culture to advance their self interests. This caused resentment from some of the respondents who felt it was unfair if socio-economic elite groups were preferentially treated by the leadership and in the sharing out of benefits and opportunities. This reduces the confidence of the poor and demotivates them from becoming involved in projects. In such situations the poor become withdrawn and tend to offer communal labour unwillingly, leaving the elites to be more involved.

Cultural influences also play a part in participation. Ghanaian cultures teach people to be subordinate to leadership. This makes leadership-community relationships in Ghanaian cultural systems paternalistic. There is a cultural view that the traditional leaders are 'experienced and know best' especially in the remote areas. The folklore that goes with the perception is 'obey your elders and leaders', which is similar to how children are told to obey and accept every decision their parents make for them.

Five stages in participation were identified: identification, decision making, planning, implementation and maintenance. Generally, the people were more interested in and encouraged to participate in the implementation of projects (provision of free labour) than the other stages of participation. The study found that people who get involved mostly participate in the implementation and maintenance stages and only a few were involved with problem identification.

In sum, then, many of the respondents understood participation as being involved in the provision of free communal labour that will bring community development and public goods. The findings of the study also indicated that many members of the communities seemed fairly unconcerned about the issue of decisions being dominated by the FDPs, the leaders and the elites. In the study, respondents from both villages (Konkonuru and Shia) did not significantly underline the importance of decision making as being part of the sort of participation they desired or anticipated. They seemed to delegate decision making to the elites who are the traditional leaders. In general (if not always) they have confidence in their leaders and felt they would not make mistakes when deciding for them. Decision making on the projects, therefore, is not captured but mandated to the dominant people in the village (the leaders and elites). Many of the respondents in the study explained that they trust their leaders because they (the leaders) live with them in the same villages, and know the common interests of the communities. They also

believe that the FDPs (coming from developed countries) know best so they can rely on them and allow them to act on their behalf. A villager who commented on this issue explained that they can see them making progress in developing their village, and that the villagers are not even asked to contribute financially. Hence, it was their view that they should not complain about decision making. But nonetheless this can be regarded in some ways as representative. It can be argued from the findings that the people saw participation differently from the western view. Here the poor accepted the role of the elites in making decisions on their behalf and, in effect, gave them the mandate to do so. They only wanted to participate by providing communal labour, feeling that responsibility for decisions and funding belongs to the leaders and elites.

Participation was also found to be difficult to implement. One of the philanthropists described it as 'impractical' to get the entire community together at one time. On non-working or non-farm days, activities such as church, funerals and out-door ceremonies might be happening and people value such activities more than communal development meetings. The philanthropists interviewed explained that participatory decision making was also very difficult primarily due to the limited time available for them to engage with the people. Participation requires time: meeting and interacting with the people, evaluating suggestions and making decisions. This process in particular does not suit the majority of FDPs who are not normally resident in the communities. One FDP also pointed out that allowing everyone to participate in decision making would raise public expectations that they very often could not meet. This is because there is limited funding available which could not cover every project people could ask for. The inability to do so and the process of turning down a request for a project would be humiliating or an embarrassment.

Another difficulty found was that promoting participation in decision making in rural communities can actually promote disagreement and conflicts because of the nature of culture, ethnicity and the land tenure system. An FDP argued that every community member wants projects sited on his/her clan land so that they can claim ownership in times of conflict. Making decisions in these situations would always bring conflict and disagreement which could be avoided by not involving most local people at all.

Leaders also put forward the view that decision making with the people is very difficult and sometimes does not work because of lack of interest and consultation fatigue. For example, Mr Kalmoni said that in Konkonuru the leadership did try to involve the

people in decision making. However, as he noted, “First meetings were fully attended but the number kept decreasing in the subsequent months.” (Samir Kalmoni, interview, Konkonuru, 19 November 2010).

The indirect mandate from the poor does provide an opportunity for the leaders and the FDPs to play comfortable roles and is open to various criticisms. The philanthropists were found to be making decisions according to their personal convictions and judgments. From interviewing the FDPs it becomes apparent that many have their own plans and ideas about how they are going to improve the well-being of the population and enhance development opportunities in their villages. They believe that they have the blueprint on the best plans the communities would need to move forward. This approach, evidently, makes their relationship top-down rather than participatory or a partnership. For them, being the source of essential funds puts them in a powerful position in decision making. The old adage which says ‘the one who pays the piper calls the tune’ exactly fits the explanation that ‘whoever pays has the power to make decision’. How then can it be different with the philanthropists? It can also be argued that this situation can have a veneer of paternalism (Alhassan, 2009; Baaz, 2009). Beron (2008) defined paternalism as “the belief that [some] grown men and women are childlike creatures who can thrive in the world only if they submit to the guardianship of benevolent mandarins”. Being paternalistic could be intentional or unintentional; either way there is always the danger that it can lead to harmful and dictatorial decisions. FDPs, who are of European origin will approach development by looking through the lenses of European culture and knowledge, while Americans will look through American lenses (McEwan 2009, Sharp, 2009). This is the approach heavily criticized by post-development theorists who express little confidence in Western development approaches (Escobar 1995; Kothari 1988; Esteva 1987).

#### 8.2.4 Leadership: politics and agency

The effectiveness of leadership is an essential ingredient for the success of the concept. The efficacy of local leaders was found to depend on how they play their politics with the stakeholders and the state. To achieve good outcomes the leaders needed good and high level contacts. They should also be good mediators so that they could serve the interests of both the development philanthropists and the people. Most of the philanthropists acknowledged the importance of mutual trust and good relationships with the chiefs. The type of leadership style was an important influence on the

motivation of the people. Most respondents at Konkonuru claimed that their chiefs' relationships with them are cohesive, and only a few said their chiefs were divisive and oppressive. The positive view of the leadership at Konkonuru was reflected in their success in achieving a range of positive development outcomes. Even if there is an element of self interest in the leadership's approach this may not always have negative implications. One of the personal interests of Nana Addo Mensah of Konkonuru was to be recognized in the history of the village as the one who led his people to achieve development through this concept. Personal prestige was thus a motivating factor for facilitating a link with a FDP. However, Shia was very different: ordinary people found it hard to see a traditional chief/leader about community problems due to the institutionalized nature of their culture – highlighted by social exclusivity and lack of democracy. These relationships had a strong influence on the level of participation and social capital of the communities.

Expanding on the leadership lifestyle in relation to the social, cultural and political context, it was found that local people judged their leaders on their personalities, transparency, accountability, and responsiveness and their experience, knowledge, and positive relationships with the philanthropists and outsiders. The chiefs will need an infectious personality and sometimes charisma to inspire or stimulate people to realize the outcome of projects, goals and aspirations. A significant number did believe that their chiefs set them a good example, put the people's interests first, and were 'father figures' guiding them in every project in the villages. The chief of Konkonuru, with his experience in public relations and charisma, was able to relate to the philanthropist, the people and the state effectively.

According to the 1992 Constitution of the Fourth Republic chiefs are supposed to be non-political, but the chief of Konkonuru appear to be very influential in local politics. The district assemblyman admitted that he has to be in a good relationship with the chief in order to 'help to maintain your [i.e. his] electorates'. The chief on one occasion described the assemblyman as having 'soft ears'. That means he is always willing to listen to the traditional authority about their needs. It was not surprising to find that the assemblyman was at all the meetings we held with the chiefs in Konkonuru. This appears to indicate a harmonious relationship between state and traditional authority. However, this should not always be assumed, as the politician's main intention might be to gain knowledge about the development projects and also to ensure he is in good

favour with the traditional chief in order to gain political benefits which might be derived from being endorsed by the chief. That the Konkonuru chief was able to influence the government through the assemblyman in terms of the local allocation of resources was demonstrated by the case of how he was able to get a road re-routed so it ran through the South Akwapim District Assembly.

The sustainability of the concept therefore depends crucially on the environment created by the leadership of the traditional institutions.

#### 8.2.5 Dynamism in Philanthropy

On the nature of philanthropy, three different approaches to philanthropy were observed: conventional philanthropy, venture philanthropy and transnational philanthropy. It was found that the practice of philanthropy in the villages researched can be dynamic in nature, with FDPs switching from one kind to another in response to circumstance or situation.

Samir Kalmoni of Konkonuru's role as development chief can be analyzed first as conventional philanthropy as outlined in Chapter 2. He uses his own financial resources to initiate every development project with which he is involved. He explained that the teaching of his religion [Islam] influences his philanthropic actions (Dean and Khan, 1997). He believes giving to the poor gains future blessings from God. However, his biggest project (eco-tourism) will shift his approach into venture philanthropy. He intends to profit from this project as a business but he also believes it will bring employment and businesses to the local people (Rick Jr. and Williams 2005) and the two motives are intertwined. There is a further element to the venture however which relates to the third set of actors (traditional chiefs) in these arrangements. Mr. Kalmoni explained that it had been agreed with the traditional authorities in the village that some of the profit from the eco-tourism venture was earmarked as a financial contribution to the traditional institution for future developments such as new palace building.

Venture philanthropy always has a business motive as well as the element of altruism. This type of philanthropy was also being practiced by the Lawlers in Shia. As with Kalmoni in Konkonuru, the original FDP relationship began as conventional philanthropy with the venture aspect emerging later. John and Elaine Lawler became development chief and queen in Shia before they engaged in business in the village when they set up their gap year voluntary company, Madventurer. Similar to Mr.

Kalmoni in Konkonuru, the philanthropists benefit as well as the community. However, as explained in chapters five and seven, the enterprise in Shia had the disadvantage of not involving the local people in the decisions and activities undertaken, which is one of the objectives of the concept. Here development infrastructure is achieved but community participation is absent because of the presence of the young foreign volunteers.

The last, and most common, kind of philanthropy observed is the transnational type. That means the philanthropic activities happen beyond the borders of the beneficiaries (Mercer et al 2009; Schoumaker, 2009). Here again, the philanthropists start with conventional type with just altruism. After a while they establish fundraising organizations, which are mostly registered as charities in the Western countries such as United Kingdom and United States of America. They do this to attract regular donors who can be classified as micro philanthropists. Some of these donors form groups and occasionally travel with the development philanthropist to see how their money is being spent and also to volunteer in the villages involved. The philanthropists who organize fundraising of this nature often publish regular updates about development in their villages for the donors, as exemplified in the case discussed in chapter 7 of the Walugu Projects, organized by Lynne Symonds, development queen for Mamprushie. This kind of transnational philanthropy is dissimilar to that practiced by Hometown Associations (HTAs) which is motivated by the spirit of belongingness (Page 2011; Mercer et al 2009). However, the biological and diaspora claims of Jane Goldsmith and Rita Marley combine belongingness and altruism in their motivation factors.

#### 8.2.6 FDP: benefits and failures

On the question of 'who benefits' from FDPs' work, it was found that there are different ways in which sections of the communities, chiefs, individual philanthropists and in a broader sense, the nation, benefit from this kind of development approach.

The benefits or the impacts of the concept were assessed in relation to its objectives. Basically, the communities want to achieve development. They look forward to development initiative or projects that will create socioeconomic infrastructure and improve their quality of life.

It can be argued from the objectives that the main objective of projects under this concept is reducing poverty. It was found that the villages had been able to achieve

some of the objectives of gaining access to community infrastructure. For the two villages studied, each had their priorities and interests according to the circumstances they were in before they had their FDPs. In Shia the priority was the improvement of education and much had been achieved through the concept. In Konkonuru the priority was access to physical infrastructure - such as roads, potable water and electricity. Again significant improvements in these priority areas had been realized through the initiatives of development philanthropy. Kpone Bawaleshie, the third village where the study was aborted at the early stage, was enjoying free medical care for children before their FDP left them. Improvement or provision of quality education for the communities was always an important aim for every village and their FDPs. Respondents in the study expressed their satisfaction and explained how their households had benefited from the improvements in education through the concept. Besides raising the standard of quality of education, other benefits mentioned by respondents were children not walking miles to nearby towns for school, and the provision of textbooks and meals. Provision of quality primary health care for the communities also benefited the households and the poor individuals. Respondents from both villages expressed their satisfaction on the health care facilities being provided by the concept. Sick or unwell people do not need to travel to nearby towns or cities to be seen by a medical practitioner. Healthcare centres are built by the FDPs with token charges which is far less than the charges for those who are covered by the recent government health insurance policy.

The improved access to roads, electricity and potable water in Konkonuru had positive economic spinoffs. Income generating trade and activities had been created or improved because of the improved infrastructure. Some members of the community are now engaged in straddling their livelihoods between Konkonuru and the large towns of Aburi and Koforidua and the capital, Accra. These have achieved improved household and individual incomes and employment. I was not able to visit all the villages but photographic evidence and secondary data show these achievements. The study also observed that women philanthropists were particularly interested in empowering women to get access to facilities that enable them to gain economic independence. They therefore focused on providing women with education, employment and access to capital for petty trading. Significantly, there were no male complaints about this bias towards women. Despite the generally discriminatory culture against women in Ghana, the men believed opportunities for women will indirectly benefit them as well. The

study therefore suggests that economic empowerment of women is becoming accepted in traditional rural communities as the exclusivity of culture is giving way to modernity.

The achievements of the concept not only benefit the communities, but also contribute to the country's progress in its Poverty Reduction Strategy. Ghana has been commended by the United Nations because the country is on course to meeting most of the Millennium Development Goals targets by 2015. This achievement, as stated in chapter three, is mostly due to reductions in rural poverty and improvements in education and health.

The evidence for FDP successes in the first two villages has however to be set against the failure of the concept in Kpone Bawaleshie. Yet uncovering the problems which caused that failure is as crucial in providing the answers to the key research questions of this thesis as the story of the successes. The fact that the FDP in that village left because she felt unable to trust the traditional leaders underlines the necessity that all the stakeholders involved in these initiatives must be able to work together and make positive contributions to commonly agreed development goals to ensure its success. There are other examples where the FDPs, rather than the chiefs, did not live up to local people's expectations. One case is Sir Bob Geldof's story (chapter 7) which demonstrates how FDPs need to understand the position, role and expectations attached to the title before acceptance.

#### 8.2.7 The model of concept

Throughout the thesis, three main influencing factors were found to determine the outcome of the concept. They are:

1. Participation of the people
2. Effectiveness of traditional leadership
3. Nature of philanthropy

To conclude whether the three influencing factors are inter-related for the successful operation of the concept, it is appropriate to integrate these sets of factors into a model and their relationships and practices are considered in the perspective of social, cultural, political and philanthropy.



From the research and analysis undertaken for this thesis the model proposed incorporates the roles of foreign development philanthropists and the stakeholders' roles and functions and possible outcomes in relation to the central research questions of the thesis (figure 8.1).

Four possible outcomes are modeled which are discussed in turn below.

#### Outcome A

This is where the shared vision of the stakeholders or the objectives of the concept are achieved – infrastructure development and community participation. All the stakeholders give their maximum best. There is the availability of funding from philanthropy to support projects, there are high levels of community participation and the leadership are playing their role as a driving force effectively. Konkonuru village is operating in this region (outcome A) although not at the highest possible level. They have achieved their goals - education, health, electricity, clean water, tarred road, community centre and community involvement. It can be argued that no system can achieve 100% efficacy. However, if the community can further improve their level of commitment, and the leadership improves social inclusivity and responsiveness, they could further improve the outcome.

#### Outcome B

Here there is availability of funding from philanthropy and the people are fully committed but the leadership is not effective. That means their roles as mediators and as a driving force behind the concept are lacking due to barriers such as corruption, self interest and lack of trust. The example is the situation at Kpone Bawaleshie, where the people and the philanthropist did not trust the leadership. The village had had their FDP for seven years but the only facility they enjoyed was free medical prescriptions for children and even this had ended because the FDP abandoned her position.

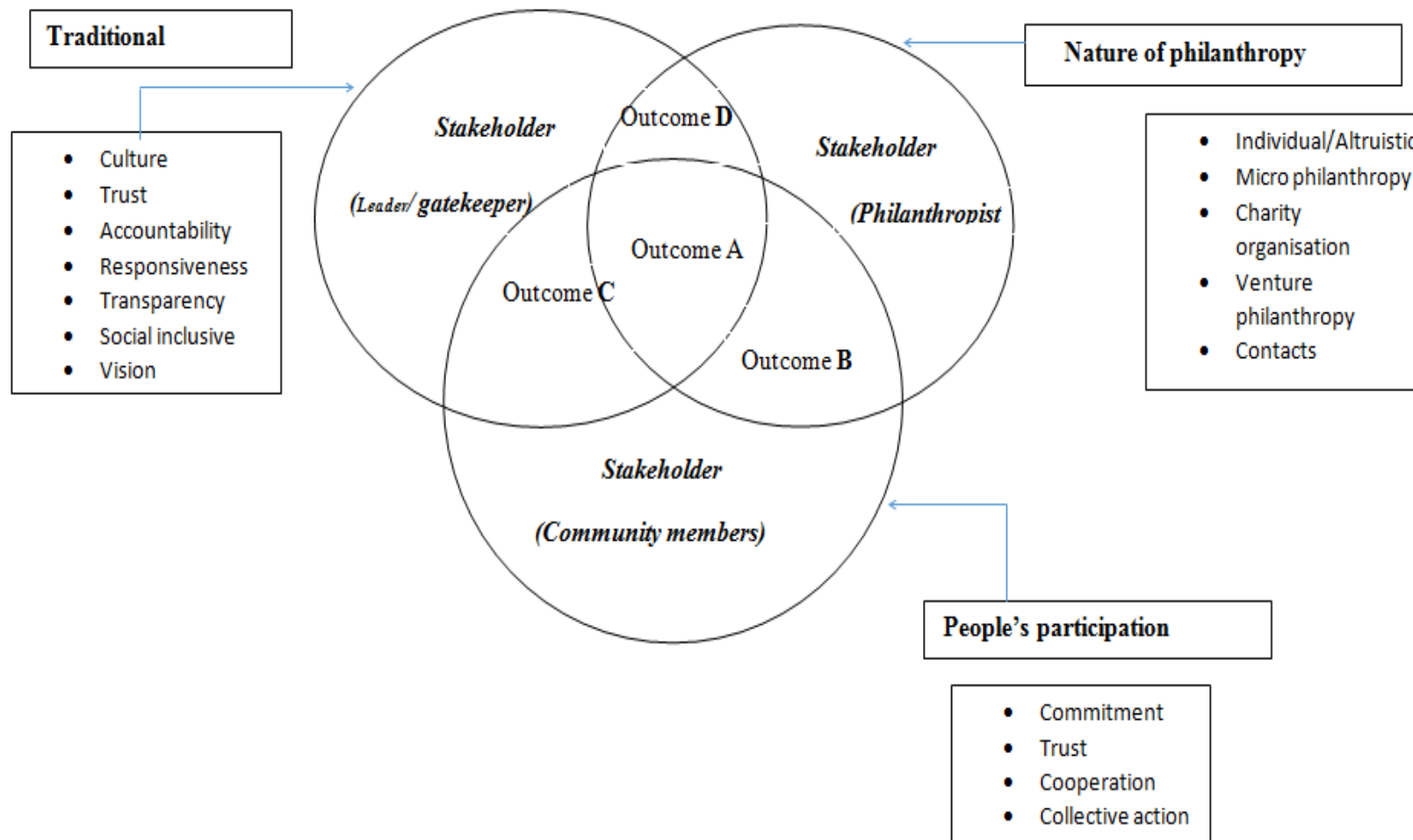
#### Outcome C

This is the situation where the leadership and the community are ready and fully committed but the FDP is not available to inject fund for projects. Here nothing can be achieved. The example is the case of Assin Ajumako village which was not part of the case study. Here, their FDP (Sir Bob Geldof) never returned to them after the appointment. Nothing was achieved.

#### Outcome D

In this type of outcome, the leadership is playing their role and funds for projects from the FDP are available but the participation of the community is lacking. Here little could be achieved. Shia village is operating in this situation. The leadership is effective due to the benevolent domination of a gatekeeper who has created positive links with both the FDP and the people. The FDP is also operating venture philanthropy, and uses volunteers from his agency to undertake labour which should have been the role of the community members. The community therefore feels sidelined. Facilities and infrastructure are achieved but the other objective of community participation is lacking. It could reasonably be questioning whether this model based on the FDP concept is worth scaling up, given the associated problems. But there are three areas in which it will be valuable. First it can be used as a descriptive tool in development appraisal in rural community projects. In this sense it may be useful for development practitioners who need such information to avoid negative outcomes such as self interests by leadership. The study produces concrete and observable information about interactive participation in rural Ghana. It is based mainly on primary research on the communities and leaders and the philanthropist who are engaged in practicing the concept, supplemented by secondary sources. The study therefore provides a substantial body of information on behaviour, norms and practices relating to the practice of rural development. The analysis, combined with available literature, has been framed by four key conceptual aspects of the study - philanthropy, participation, culture and leadership.

The model could also be useful for cognitive application in philanthropic studies, especially in studying the relationship between beneficiary communities and benefactors. It is also of relevance to the study of leadership in traditional institutions in Ghana. As many traditional leaders are embarking on development initiatives, this model can be used as a guide on the expected roles of leadership considering the cultural, political and development contexts.



**Figure 8.1 Integrated model of Development philanthropy concept**

### **8.3 Wider implications**

#### **8.3.1 The geographies of the concept**

The findings highlighted the geographical concept of spatiality in the FDP. Firstly, the concept's feature of beneficiaries' linkages to other groups and actors in other spaces or places. These are transnational spaces which form networks between the communities and the philanthropist (as they operate between two countries) and the donors (as I describe micro philanthropists). From abroad, philanthropic resources and to some extent knowledge are generated for the running of the projects. John Lawler, for example, raises human resources (gap year business) from abroad. Other transnational groups such as Wulungu Project, 'Friends of Tafo' and the 'Friends of Kuntu' also generate financial and human resources (occasional volunteering). Hence, funding is often raised by donations from the public in the philanthropists' home country through diverse ways - such as sports events etc. Also some of the beneficiary communities are linked to their donors from the philanthropists' home country as in the case of Shia's link to the city of Newcastle. This can allow visits by community leaders from either location, as it has already happened between Shia and Newcastle, and, Kuntu and Pennsylvania (USA). These features suggest how agency and power in this concept can be centered abroad (Mercer et al 2008).

The findings of this study on the transnationalisation of resources and networks, in relation to the concept, is not too dissimilar from those found by other academics (Opiniano 2005; Mercer et al 2008). However, this study adds to these studies by showing how transnational philanthropy and networks for rural development are not only confined to the diaspora, who form networks and make financial contribution to their home towns in developing countries to foster development. Instead it is shown that any donor from a different space can also form that relationship. Here there is no politics of 'belongingness' (Mercer et al 2008) but altruism.

Secondly, there is a geographical issue of proximity as an important factor of the outcome of the concept (Page 2011). The two philanthropists at Konkonuru live and operate in the neighbourhood of the village. Here one can argue that philanthropists who live in such proximity can more easily 'share' benefits (such as water, electricity, roads and local business venture) that they may install partly for their own benefit, but which end up having wider benefits. Philanthropists who live in the UK cannot be philanthropic in the same way. On assessing their effectiveness, they contribute more actively than those operating from transnational spaces. The research found that they

benefit from their proximity as it enables them to forge regular contact with the community members and also puts them in a good position to assess and follow-up on the accountability of the running of projects.

### 8.3.2 Positive and Negative hijacking

One of the problems of participation which is pointed out by its critics is that some of the approaches to participation tend to romanticize and homogenize the places in which political action occurs. They do this by treating the locals and community as self-evident and unproblematic social categories (Hickey and Mohan 2004; Mercer 2002). Works by others show that this is not the case; rather there are socio-economic hierarchies which tend to stratify communities into elites and the poor class (Hickey and Mohan 2004).

Critics suggest that hijacking of projects by elites and leaders is problematic in community development (Desai 1996; Kapoor 2005 and Majoux 1995). In this thesis hijacking was evident. It was found that gate keepers and leaders were more deeply involved than the poor community members in the villages.

Yet it was found that the history of Konkonuru and Shia has created conditions which have facilitated the building of strong cohesion between clans and this enables them to take collective action for development, in spite of the competition between, and social exclusiveness among, clans due to social stratification on clan lines. This cohesion means that participation in communal labour for the public good is understood and perceived by local people as a legitimate moral claim. Situating this in the wider geographical and deeper development contexts, this thesis shows that not all the important participatory activities captured by elites and leaders have a negative effect. The theoretical debate for participation therefore, needs to be revisited with the implications of this valuable insight in order to advance a more rigorous conceptualization of elite capture in participatory approaches.

The pessimists about participatory approaches suggests that the claim by proponents that participation can prevent local elites from domination and capturing benefits are unfounded and tyrannical (Cooke and Kothari 2001; Christens and Speers 2006; Mansuri and Rao 2004; Kapoor 2005). But this study suggests that elite capture and domination can have very different consequences – positive or negative.

At Shia, the leader is literate but he lacks experience in public relations which was a disadvantage and sometimes apparent in his dealings with outsiders where a lack of

confidence could be observed. This was apparent from John Lawler's preference for dealing with the local gate keeper, Justus Avudzivi, the retired accountant from Shell Petroleum who had returned to Shia after many years away. His key role in facilitating the FDP concept in his village is met with the approval of both chief and the people. While Avudzivi could be seen simply as a dominant elite who has hijacked the implementation of the concept at Shia, and is regarded jealously by a few people in the village because of his exclusive contact with the FDP and for allowing a project to benefit a royal clan, nonetheless John Lawler and the majority of the people see him as the recipe for their success. In my opinion, his dealings with the development chief could be assessed as benevolent, he was effective because he is well educated, networked and had time to devote to development issues. His role was yielding a significant net benefit to the concept at Shia. Hence this kind of capture can be termed 'positive hijacking'.

On the other hand, not all gatekeepers play this sort of positive role. The gatekeeper at Kpone Bawaleshie, who is also the son of the chief, was an extreme type. His dealings lead to mistrust between the authority and the development philanthropist. The people were also dissatisfied with him so in every way his role in relation to the FDP concept was negative. The gatekeeper at Akoanso, where Jane Goldsmith is the development queen, played a different role again. She was the District Assembly woman for the area and was not on good terms with the traditional authority. Her presence was seen as a check to the traditional authority. While the development queen appreciated her advice, she also felt that she overprotected her, thereby limiting her contact with the local villagers. In this case the gatekeeper had good intentions but her approach was hindering the purpose of the concept. As noted, self interested behaviour by the leaders is one of the obstacles to their effectiveness as it causes dissatisfaction for the people and can lead to the breakdown of communication and mistrust. As discussed in chapter six, Jane Goldsmith was dismayed by a personal demand of the chief for a car. This resulted in the FDP taking the money back to England for future use. This kind of capture by leaders and elites is 'negative hijacking'.

This finding might contribute to the understanding of the participatory debate in ways that matter to both the pessimists and the optimists of participation. To the pessimists, elite capture in participation can result in positive outcomes despite being tyrannical in some cases. And to the optimists, elite capture is inevitable in participation due to the

micro-politics in communities. However, it could bring positive results to development projects. The findings of this model of participation approach therefore, contributes to the concept across theory, policy and practice of participation.

### 8.3.3 Broader definition of philanthropy

The operation of philanthropy in the FDP concept further broadens the definition of philanthropy. The general definition of contemporary philanthropy by scholars is voluntary donation of resources for public good (Payton 1988; Schervish 2004; Salamon 1992). However in the case of development philanthropy by FDPs in Ghanaian villages, the benefits (such as electricity, roads, water) of the approach could also sometimes be enjoyed by the philanthropists alongside the beneficiaries. Though they may install infrastructure for the community, they can end up sharing the benefits with the community. Philanthropists who live in the West cannot be philanthropic in the same way. This raises the question, however, of whether sharing the donated resources with the beneficiaries is truly a philanthropic act. Here it is argued that it is: these philanthropists have installed these facilities voluntarily and for public good. Sharing of resources is also a form of 'showing love to humankind', which is the dictionary and theological meaning. Hence this thesis can broaden the scholarly understanding of philanthropy as the voluntary donation or sharing of resources for the public good.

### 8.3.4 Traditional leadership: agents of development?

The thesis contributes to the debate about the importance of neo-traditional leadership. There are two schools of thought in this regard: one sees traditional leadership as an important factor in enhancing development outcomes (Ray 2003; Lutz and Linder 2004; Schech and Haggis 2004; Grischow 2008). The other views them as being antithetical to development, since limitations attached to traditional cultures (ECA 2007; Englebert 2000) are unsuited to modernity and development (Ribot 2001; Schech and Haggis 2004).

The thesis acknowledges the important role of traditional leaders in the outcomes of the FDP concept, particularly in their mediatory role. There are also various arguments to support this view. This study notes the changing of the values, beliefs and perceptions of the people which in turn are greatly influencing their way of thinking, motivation and behaviour. At this stage of their transition, the NTAs are needed as the custodians of communities' culture and play key roles in leading communities to shape their behaviour,

social structures, and economic and political life in ways that might enhance development. We found how some NTAs also play a role in the rural economies not in terms of the Western concepts of capitalism and market-orientation, but based on such values as solidarity, social stability and care for the environment (Guri 2006), despite the heterogeneity of communities. Throughout the research the traditional leaders were found to play key roles in the control of natural resources, land management and in the mediation and judgment of local petty crimes and litigation. Mostly the evidence pointed to how they are positively involved in the pursuance of development to ensure the well being of their people.

On the other hand, the thesis also recognizes the argument that the notion of development in rural Africa should imply a change from some of the old ways of doing things. People should therefore be released from those bonds of traditional cultures and lifestyles which are considered not only to be signs of underdevelopment, but to provide actual obstacles to development (Landers 2000, Harrison and Huntington 2000). The thesis recognizes that there are limitations in the ways by which traditional leaders govern and argues that these can inhibit people from functioning in the modern world. The thesis is of the view that tradition and modernity should not be regarded as being incompatible, but should rather complement one another to enhance development in a sustainable manner. The evidence of slow but positive economic progress via the FDP concept at Konkonuru and Shia clearly shows that tradition and modernity can effectively complement each other in order to achieve greater results. This thesis therefore advocates a blend between mainstream economic and modern perspectives on the one hand, and positive traditional values.

#### **8.4 Future directions**

The concept of promoting development through foreign development philanthropists has been demonstrated in this thesis to have had more positive impacts than negative impacts. It is potentially useful in rural development in Ghana. According to Bob-Milliar (2008), Ghana's Ministry of Chieftaincy Affairs has begun recording the existence of the Foreign Development Philanthropists. However there is no effort made to ascertain the importance of their efforts and as yet they have not received the recognition they deserve. The future efficacy of the FDP concept could be improved by creating fora within which development philanthropists and chiefs could engage with



the government – including the Ministry and the National House of Chiefs - on development policy issues to discuss how the contributions of FDPs can work hand in hand with the government representatives who form the local government. This will enable the concept to be legally embraced with government policies.

A contrasting feature of the concept that needs consideration is the actual practice of development. Unlike NGOs and other development agencies, where development planning and strategies are made and executed by development expertise, the development philanthropist is a ‘one man show’ who often has little or no idea about development practice. Within one village, as in the case of Konkonuru, which was fortunate in having two philanthropists, this can imply that each has his/her own ideas and convictions about how development must be practiced. In this way the practice of development becomes personalized. As of now, each FDP is operating individually in an amateur manner. The involvement and support of the state government is also needed. For example there is the need for leadership training of the chiefs on administrative processes. There were no appropriate administrative processes and recording methods by the traditional institutions. I found that there was also a poor flow of information in the villages regarding development. In such situation leaders can easily shape the concept to benefit their personal interest.

Within the UK and other countries where most of the philanthropist originate, it would also be helpful to organize and form an association of FDPs, which could provide information, advice and education about rural Ghanaian culture. Such an initiative was suggested by some of those interviewed for this research: John Lawler, Jane Goldsmith and Humphrey Barclay. They also believed that publication of this study will help them to work effectively with their communities in Ghana.

An important direction for further study is the issue about exit plans for the philanthropists operating this concept. It is clear that these development initiatives are problematic in terms of sustainability and long-term planning. For example there were no set terms in office for these development chief positions and their position cannot be inherited when it becomes vacant. Because of this they tend not to prepare any strategic exit plan. This puts the people in a state of uncertainty about the concept. The situation does not promote sustainability and self-sufficiency whereby the people would be able to progress in development in the future without the philanthropists. Ultimately development needs to be sustainable and to promote self sufficiency rather than dependency amongst the rural communities of Ghana.

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## APPENDIX

### Appendix 1

#### SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE

Number of Field:..... Number of Questionnaire:.....

Name of village:.....

Name of Respondent:.....

#### Introduction of Survey

Good morning, day or evening as applicable.

My name is.....

I will like to speak to the head of the family/household, please.

(In the absence of the head of household, speak to another adult (next in line for position of head of household).

I wish to ask for your assistance in conducting a research on the impact of philanthropy on rural communities in Ghana. The purpose of the research is to find out if vertical philanthropist, who are appointed to chieftaincy positions because of their financial status, change lives of the people. I wish to find out if their appointments will bring poverty alleviation and improvement of well being. Our focus will be on the household livelihood and community development. This research is being undertaken by Raphael Aidoo who is a Ghanaian PhD student at the King's College, London in the UK. Every person in the village has an equal opportunity of being included in the research.

Would you or/and another adult from the household who could be considered the head of household be willing to answer a few questions? You are not obliged to take part in the survey. You may also refuse to answer any question, or stop the survey at any time. Your answers will be kept strictly confidential and your name will not be used in any official documents without your approval (if you wish). The interview will last for about an hour, and you can feel free to answer honestly and openly. Do you wish to continue or would you like me to make an appointment and return at another time?

(YES/NO)

(If yes, continue interview, if not make an appointment for a mutually convenient time).

**IDENTIFICATION**

Name of Researcher or Assistant: .....

Name of Village: .....

Date of Survey: .....

Date of Follow-up Meeting (if any) .....

**A. SOCIAL BACKGROUND OF RESPONDENT.****1. Sex of Respondent:**

- 1. Male ( )
- 2. Female ( )

**2. Age Bracket of Respondent:**

- 18-30 ( )
- 31-44 ( )
- 45-59 ( )
- 60-70 ( )
- 71- above

**3. What is the highest level of education that you have?**

- 1. None/Not applicable ( )
- 2. Primary school ( )
- 3. Secondary school ( )
- 4. College/Polytechnic ( )
- 5. University ( )

**ECONOMIC STATUS OF RESPONDENTS****4. What is your primary economic activity or main occupation?**

- 1. Unemployed ( )
- 2. Farmer ( )
- 3. Artisan ( ) indicate .....
- 4. Petty Trader ( )
- 5. Business person ( )
- 6. Homemaker ( )
- 7. Domestic worker ( )
- 8. Labourer ( )
- 9. Teacher ( )
- 10. Government Worker ( )
- 11. Clergy ( )
- 12. Retired civil servant ( )

**5. Are you involved in any secondary economic activity(ies)?**

- 1. Yes ( )
- 2. No ( )

If yes, specify

- 1. construction ( )
- 2. Subsistence farming ( )
- 3. Gardening ( )
- 4. Petty trading ( )
- 5. Business ( )
- 6. Craft making ( )
- 7. Baking ( )
- 8. Other ..... ( )

## IMPACT BY PHILANTHROPIST(S)

6. How do you rate the following expectations ( from the development chief /queen). Are they necessary or important to your village?

Items	Very necessary	necessary	Not necessary
Provision of health			
Education for Children			
Social Services( electricity, water, sanitation )			
Employment			
Provision of access to Market (tarred road)			
Training opportunities for youth			
Provision of Agriculture inputs			
Provision of housing			

6. Please rate your personal satisfaction of the following items since the arrival of the development chief/queen for your village.

Items	Satisfied	So-so	Not Satisfied	Don't have
Health				
Education for Children				
Access to Market (tarred road)				
Social Services (electricity, water, sanitation )				
employment				
Training opportunities				
Agriculture				
Provision of housing				

8. In your opinion has the appointment(s) improved your quality of life?

1. Yes ( )
2. No ( )

If yes, please explain:

1. Able to meet their basic needs such as adequate food and clothing. ( )
2. Can pay for health care services. ( )
3. Can pay for school fees of children. ( )
4. Able to upgrade their house. ( )
5. Can afford a few luxury items. ( )

#### **D. RELATIONSHIP WITH DEVELOPMENT CHIEF/QUEEN**

9. Ever had contacts with Philanthropists to discuss development?

- (1) Yes ( )
- (2) No ( )

10. Do you see the Development chief/queen as a partner of development?

1. Yes ( )
2. No ( )
- 3 Don't know ( )

11. Does the community consider him/her a philanthropist?

1. Yes ( )
2. No ( )
3. Don't know ( )

12. Describe the relationship of the Development chief/queen with the people

1. Accommodating ( )
2. Cohesive ( )
3. Divisive ( )
4. Oppressive ( )
5. Other (describe) \_\_\_\_\_

#### **E. DECISION MAKING AND PARTICIPATION IN DEVELOPMENT**

13. Are you interested in collective decision making towards projects?

1. Yes ( )
2. No ( )

14. Do you think your interests are taken on board in decision making.

1. Yes ( )
2. No ( )

15. Do you think chiefs and elders have greater influence on decision making than the poor.

1. Yes ( )
2. No ( )

16. Are you always ready to participate in development projects initiated by him/her?

1. Yes ( )
2. No ( )

17. Do you attend communal meetings concerning development?  
 (1) Yes ( )  
 (2) No ( )
18. What is your opinion on participating in development of your village?  
 (1) Positive ( )  
 (2) Negative ( )
19. Have you ever participated at different stages of development projects?  
 (1) Problem identification ( )  
 (2) Decision making ( )  
 (3) Planning ( )  
 (4) Implementation ( )  
 (5) Maintenance ( )
20. Reasons for participation  
 (1) Participation leads to our village development ( )  
 (2) Village development is a cooperative process ( )  
 (3) I will benefit and feel part of ownership of projects ( )
21. Reasons for not participation  
 (1) Do not participate because of poverty ( )  
 (2) Biasness of chief and elders ( )  
 (3) Unawareness of meetings/ communal work ( )

#### EFFECTIVENESS OF CHIEF/LEADER

22. I trust, respect and accept the Chief on:

	Yes	No	Don't know
Decision on projects			
Transparency on money on projects			
Decisions on lands and other resources			
Trust him just because he our leader			
Able to advance our interests			
Able to preserve our culture and traditions			

23. Chief's Responsiveness

	Yes	No	Don't know
Have you / know of someone reported a community problem to the chief before?			
How did he respond?			
(a) Few days			
(b) weeks or more			
(c) not at all			

24. Abilities of Chief

Statements	Yes	No	Don't know
The chief is able to motivate and inspire us for community work			
The chief set good examples for us all			
The chief knows the needs of the people			

Thank you very much for your time.

**(RESEARCHER OR RESEARCH ASSISTANT GIVES PARTICIPANT ONE TABLET OF SOAP )**

## **Appendix 2**

### **Guidelines for FOCUS GROUP MEETINGS**

#### ***IMPACT OF PHILANTHROPIC DEVELOPMENT CHIEFS/QUEENS***

PLACE

DATE

TIME

#### **RESEARCH TEAM**

1. Raphael Aidoo - Facilitator
2. Erasmus Baddoe - audio recordings
3. Philip Tawiah - notes recordings

#### **PARTICIPANTS:**



- 1. Can you tell us how and why Philanthropist ( NAME) became development chief/queen?**
- 2. Do you support the idea of appointing development chief/queen**
- 3. Have the community benefited from the appointment?**
- 4. How involved are you in their development projects?**
- 5. How does he/she relate to you and the people?**
- 6. When it comes to decision making on development does he/she consult anybody?**
- 7. As chiefs and elders, what role do you play in helping the development chief/queen?**

## Appendix 3

### SEMI STRUCTURE INTERVIEW OF THE PEOPLE GUIDELINES

#### **AGE GROUPS**

18-30

31-44

45-59

60-70

71-above

#### **SUPPORT CONCEPT**

YES

- Development comes first before culture
- Traditions are outmoded and not needed to be part of life anymore

NO

- We need to do it ourselves so that we will be proud of it.
- It will bring back colonialism

#### **EFFECT ON CULTURE**

NO

No effect on the main core of traditions and culture

Position is temporary and no inheritance/dynasty with it

YES

Will dilute culture

Insult to ancestors who worked hard to maintain culture and tradition

Believe of spiritual punishment by gods.

#### **PRIORITIES OF VILLAGE**

- Employment needed because agriculture is no more prospective (diversification)
- Schools- renovation of building and furniture
- Chief Palace renovation
- Market place
- Health centre
- Main access road

#### **MOST IMPRESSED ACHIEVEMENT**

All of them

- Education
- Roads

- Medical centre

### **UNFULFILLED EXPECTATION**

- Employment for income ( both villages)
- Access road (shia)

### **Contacts with chiefs and leaders**

- Some leaders are approachable
- Some leaders are not good listeners
- Some seek their self- interest first

### **Contact with DCQ**

- Only see him when there is big function(Shia)
- Not able to talk to him because of language barrier and confidence (Konkonuru)

### **WHY PEOPLE SHOW (NOT) INTEREST IN PARTICIPATION**

- Meetings are not on the right time
- We are not told what had been decided by the leaders/DCQ
- They make every decision on development projects